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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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VOLUME I.

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To his moſt eminent Highneſs

Don Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena,

GRAND MASTER

Of the ORDER of

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

SIR,

I Have the honour to lay before your Highneſs a work, which is moſt properly yours, as it contains the hiſtory of your order. You have here an account of the glorious actions which have been wrought by your predeceſſors, in different ages, for the defence of the altar and eſtates of Chriſtendom. Thoſe great men who filled the world with the reputation of their arms, and the fame of their valour, were no leſs diſtinguiſhed by their firm adherence to the obſervation of a religious diſcipline.

As you, Sir, have been juſtly raiſed to the ſame high employment, you place your ſole glory in the imitation of their virtues. Like them, you ſecure to Chriſtians the liberty of navigation, at the ſame time that you labour to make juſtice and unity, peace and piety to

flouriſh in your order. 'Tis theſe qualifications which have drawn upon you the unanimous prayers of all your bretheren, for the long continuance of ſo happy a government. Accept Sir, of my ardent wiſhes in particular for your preſervation, and of the profound reſpect, with which I am,

SIR,

Your Eminency's

moſt humble and

moſt obedient ſervant,

L'ABBE DE VERTOT

THE

PREFACE.

I AM at a loſs to know what ſort of reception this hiſtory will meet with from the public; for tho' I have been flattered with the hopes of ſucceſs, by the kind encouragement my friends have given me, to proceed in ſo laborious an undertaking, I am but too well acquainted with my own inabilities, and the difficulties of the work itſelf, to place any great confidence in the too good-natured judgments which have been formed already in my favour. For to paſs by the neceſſity I have been under of looking back into ages above ſix hundred years diſtant from us, I have been farther obliged, even in times ſo remote, to trace out only the faint glimmerings of a dark original, which muſt of conſequence be the leſs likely to give a juſt ſatisfaction to the reader's curioſity. And beſides, after all the pains I have taken, and the many years I have been employed upon this ſubject, I cannot but own at laſt, that, till I had finiſhed it, I was not ſenſible how far I had fallen ſhort of that perfection, which the nature of ſuch a work requires.

'Tis true indeed, that if we can ſtand the ſhock of ſo obſcure a beginning, and overlook the firſt facts, wherein we have ſo ſmall a ſhare of concern, the ſucceeding ages will furniſh us with ſuch extraordinary examples of piety and courage, as will ſufficiently make amends for the barrenneſs of the former, and abundantly ſupply, by the choice of matter, any defects in form, which may have aroſe from my manner of writing. We ſhall there read of an illuſtrious body of monks, confined at firſt to the narrow bounds of an hoſpital, who amidſt the humiliations of a careful attendance upon the ſick, and proviſion for the poor, extended their zeal and their power ſo far, as to take up arms againſt the infidels, the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and united in one the differing virtues of two diſtinct profeſſions, ſo ſeemingly oppoſite in their nature.

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The garb of theſe military monks was plain and modeſt; they reſerved magnificence for the ornament of their altars; and the poor and the pilgrim reaped the advantage of the frugality of their tables. They never left the apartments of the ſick, but to give themſelves up to prayer, or to take the field againſt the enemies of the croſs, which was at once their ſtandard and their habit. No ambition could fire the breaſts of our noble warriors, where virtue was the only road that could lead to advancement; whilſt their charity, their firſt engagement, and the very bond of all Chriſtian virtues, did not forſake them, even in their conflicts with the infidels; for notwithſtanding all the advantages they gained over them in battle, they were ſatisfied with diſarming the Barbarians, and, amidſt the triumphs of a victory, ſought only to convert the enemy, or at leaſt to diſable them from doing miſchief.

Such was the golden age of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. In after-times indeed, it muſt be owned, the knights grew more remiſs in the ſevere practice of ſo many different virtues; and 'tis but too notorious, that the religious character was often loſt in the ſoldier. The reader will eaſily obſerve, that this change of manners has caſt a ſhade upon ſome parts of my narration. And yet, notwithſtanding this effect of human frailty, unleſs I am miſled by a too partial regard for my own performance, I cannot but be of opinion, that the like ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs and zeal, the like purity of manners, and intrepidity in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, was never kept up, through ſo long a ſucceſſion of ſo many ages, in any one of the military orders, which have been diſperſed throughout the ſeveral countries of Chriſtendom; nor has there been any where luxury and an over-earneſt purſuit after wealth and pleaſures, have obtained ſo late an admiſſion.

I have purpoſely omitted, in this hiſtory, ſome ſurprizing accounts, which are to be met with in the annals of the order; and in particular the converſion of Iſmenia, a Saracen princeſs of moſt exquiſite beauty, as are all the heroines in the ancient chronicles, whom the author has conveyed in one night from Egypt into Picardy, in company with three knights of that order, who were all of them brothers,

and

and had each a great ſhare in the lady's converſion; a pious fable, which may juſtly deſerve to be rejected with the reſt of the old legendary ſtories, that are rather calculated to raiſe the mirth of libertines, than promote the edification of pious and well-diſpoſed perſons.

The firſt thirteen books of this hiſtory are wrote in the way of narrative, and conclude with the death of the grand maſter John de la Valette in 1568. *The fourteenth is drawn up in form of annals, and gives a ſuccinct account of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions from* 1568, *to the preſent time. And the fourteenth treats of the government of the order.*

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BOOK I.

THE hiſtory I have taken upon me to write is that of a fraternity of Hoſpitallers, which afterwards became a military ſociety, and at laſt a ſovereign order; inſtituted upon the motives of charity, and prompted by a zeal for the defence of the holy land, to take up arms againſt the infidels; an order, which, amidſt the noiſe and claſhing of ſwords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joining the peacable virtues of religion with the moſt diſtinguiſhing courage in the field.

THE union of two profeſſions ſo remote and diſtant from each other, 'till then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of theſe military Friars, their zeal for the defence of the Chriſtians, the numerous

fights and battles, in which they have been engaged for near seven hundred years, and the various success of their arms; all these particulars seem to me an object worthy the regard and consideration of mankind, and possibly the publick will not look upon the history of these soldiers of Jesus Christ without surprize and admiration, who, like a second race of Maccabees, have constantly opposed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.

BUT before we enter upon the institution of this order, I think it necessary to acquaint the reader with the state of Asia at that time; to inform him from what country the first infidels they made war upon came; to lay before him the religion, the power and the forces of those Barbarians, and especially their declared hatred to the Christians: all which circumstances, tho' indeed prior to the foundation of this order, yet seem to have some connection with the history, as a preliminary and introduction to it, and the knowledge of which will serve to clear up the particulars related to the course of it.

THAT part of Asia, which lyes between the Euxine or Black sea and the Euphrates, was, in the beginning of the seventh century, still under the dominion of the Romans, whose vast empire had swallowed up the most puissant states of our continent. But after the death of Theodosius the Great, this formidable empire began to decline, being weaken'd, either by the incursions of the Barbarians, or perhaps likeways by the division and dismembring of it by his sons the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, princes of a weak and unenterprizing spirit, who only lent their names to the transactions of their reigns, and were both governed by imperious ministers, who had made themselves the tyrants and lords of their masters. *Anno* 395.

MOST of the eastern emperors that succeeded Arcadius, either for fear of being dethroned by usurpers, or being such themselves, were less solicitous of a military name and reputation, and of putting a stop to the

the inroads of the Barbarians, than of maintaining themſelves upon the throne. Being always upon their guard againſt their own ſubjects, they durſt not turn their backs upon the capital of the empire, or venture beyond the bounds of their palace, for fear ſome rebel ſhould ſeize them; and the utmoſt happineſs they aim'd at, was to enjoy the charms of ſovereign power in a ſlothful and unactive magnificence. Thoſe famous Ceſars, the maſters of the world, were no more to be found under the imperial purple: theſe later emperors had nothing but the name; and the majeſty of the empire was now no more to be ſeen, but in the vain ornaments, with which they covered their weakneſs and cowardice.

RELIGION was no leſs a ſufferer than the ſtate by ſo wretched an adminiſtration. The eaſt was at that time infected with ſeveral hereſies, the offspring and effect of the warm imagination and too refining diſpoſition of the Greeks. Some biſhops and monks, attempting to explain the various myſteries of the incarnation after a manner too much adapted to human capacity, had involved themſelves in error; and to compleat the misfortune, they had found out means to engage ſeveral emperors in their party, who, inſtead of oppoſing the incurſions of the Barbarians, thought they had no other enemies but ſuch [illegible] declared againſt their errors.

THE empire however, in the midſt of all theſe confuſions, ſtill ſupported itſelf by the weight of its own grandeur, and about the beginning of the ſeventh century; the Emperor Heraclius had gained ſome advantages over the Scythians and Perſians. But while that prince was engaged with theſe Barbarians, and employed in revenging the ravages they had committed upon the empire, there appeared in the deſarts of Arabia one of thoſe reſtleſs and ambitious mortals, which ſeem to be born only to change the face of the univerſe; and whoſe followers having wreſted the moſt beautiful provinces of the eaſt out of the [illegible]

Greeks, at length gave the laſt and fatal blow to this empire, and buried it in its own ruins.

THE reader will eaſily perceive that I am ſpeaking of Mahomet, the moſt crafty and dangerous impoſtor, that had ever appeared in Aſia. He was born at Mecca, a city of Arabia Petræa, about the end of the ſixth century, of idolatrous parents of the tribe of the Coraſhites or Coriſians, the beſt family in the nation, and who, according to the uſual vaunt of moſt of the Arabians, boaſted themſelves to be the progeny of Abraham, by Kedar, the ſon of Iſhmael. By his [a] father's death, Mahomet became an orphan in his early years, and was left without any patrimony or ſubſiſtence. However, one of his [b] uncles took upon himſelf the care of his education, and for ſeveral years employed him in trade and commerce. From him he went into the ſervice of a rich widow named Cadigha, who at firſt took him for her factor, and afterwards made him her husband. A match ſo greatly to his advantage, and ſo much above his hopes, the plentiful eſtate of his wife, and the improvements made to it by his own induſtry, filled his mind with the thoughts of grandeur and independency. His ambition increaſed with his fortune, and ſcarce was he free from a ſtate of baſeneſs and ſervitude, when riches without dominion were too little to ſatisfy his vaſt deſires, and he carried his aims to ſo daring a pitch as to aſpire to the ſovereign authority over his country. 568 or 571.

OF the various methods he pitched upon for the accompliſhment of this great deſign, none appeared more feaſible to him than the eſtabliſhment of a new religion, an engine which many of his predeceſſors in impoſture had already made uſe of. Arabia was at that time peopled by Idolaters, Jews and Chriſtians, by Catholicks and Schiſmaticks. The inhabitants of Mecca were all idolaters, and ſo very ignorant, that, excepting [b] one ſingle man, that had traveled, they could none of them either read or write. This ignorance

[a] Abdollah. [b] Abu-taleb. [c] Waraka.

rance and diverſity of worſhip ſeemed a favourable circumſtance to Mahomet; and though he was no better a ſcholar than his neighbours, though he could neither write nor read, and was beſides eſteemed a man of bad morals, yet he had the aſſurance to form a deſign of ſetting up for a prophet in his own country, and in the very face of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of his incontinence.

BUT as this tranſition, from a voluptuous life to ſo intimate a communication with heaven, would not eaſily find credit in the world, he quitted the companions and miniſters of his pleaſures, under the pretence of an entire change in his manners; and to put a better countenance upon his pretended reformation, for two years together the hypocrite frequently retired to a cave in mount Hira, about a league from Mecca, where he only meditated upon ways and means to bring his project to execution. At the end of this term, and under colour of being wearied with the preſſing inſtances of his wife, to diſſuade him from ſo melancholy a way of living, he pretended to intruſt her with the fictitious revelations, which he ſaid he had received from heaven by the miniſtry of one of the higheſt order of ſpirits, whom he called the angel Gabriel. And being ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, he interpreted the fits of that diſtemper as extaſies, cauſed, as he ſaid, by the apparition of the celeſtial miniſter, whoſe preſence he was not able to endure; and to ſpread the fame of theſe revelations inſenſibly among the people, he imparted the ſecret, as a matter of the utmoſt privacy, to his wife. To be the wife of a prophet was a privilege too great for her vanity to conceal. Cadigha ſoon run to acquaint her beſt friends with it, and the matter was no longer a ſecret, as Mahomet had plainly foreſeen. After this he opened himſelf to ſome citizens of Mecca, whom he thought credulous enough to be perſuaded into it, and whom he actually ſeduced by his art and addreſs.

IF we may believe [a] Elmacin, the Arabian historiographer, Mahomet had a noble air and deportment, a sweet and a modest countenance, a docile and ready wit, a courteous and obliging manner, and an insinuating conversation. Besides, he had all the necessary qualifications for the head of a party: profusely liberal, ready in discerning, and exact in disposing of men according to their talents. He had all the art and reserve for acting without umbrage or discovery; and in the management and conduct of his designs afterwards, he shewed a constancy and courage superior to the greatest dangers. Having soon got some disciples to countenance and support him, he made a secret of his doctrine no longer, and taking his mission from himself, he set up for a preacher; and though he was a man of no learning, yet he gained access to the ears of his country-men, by the purity of his language, and the noble tour of his expressions. He excelled especially in a certain oriental eloquence, consisting in parables and allegories, with which he clothed and involved his discourses.

BUT as he was by no means ignorant, that every appearance of novelty in religion is always suspected, he declared that his design was not so much to found a new religion, as to revive the ancient laws, which God had given to men, and to purge them from the fables and superstitions with which they had been blended afterwards. He added, that Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, had successively preached a doctrine, truly holy to the world; a doctrine, says he, which these two great prophets confirmed by notable and signal miracles, but that the Jews and Christians had equally altered and corrupted it by human traditions; and lastly, that God had sent him, as his last and greatest prophet, even greater than Moses and Jesus, to purify religion from the fables, which, under the notion of mysteries, men had obtruded upon it; and, if possible, to reduce all mankind to an agreement in opinion, and to the profession of one and the same faith.

The

[a] L. 1. c. 1. Hotting. hist. orient. l. 2. c. 4.

The cunning impoſtor, having, by ſuch diſcourſes as theſe, prepared the minds of the people, proceeded to form his ſyſtem upon two different models, which he borrowed from the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion; and to proceed with the better ſucceſs, he had privately, in his retreat, called in the aſſiſtance of a Perſian [a] Jew, and a [b] Neſtorian monk, both apoſtates, very well ſkilled in their reſpective religions, and who had ſeveral times read over to him the Old and New Teſtament, out of [c] which, he afterwards took ſeveral paſſages, and adapted them to his new plan; and when, by the help of theſe two renegadoes, he had finiſhed any article, he clothed it in a pompous and figurative ſtyle, endeavouring to imitate, ſometimes the ſublime in the beginning of Geneſis, and ſometimes the pathetick in the true prophets. Then he declared that he had received that article from heaven; and under pretence of being only the meſſenger and herald of this celeſtial doctrine, he referred his objectors to the pretended author of his revelations, and appealed even to his ignorance itſelf, as a proof of the little ſhare he had in this new religion.

FROM the Jews he borrowed the principle relating to the exiſtence and unity of one only God, without multiplication of the divine perſons; and at the ſame time he preſſed the belief of a reſurrection, of the univerſal judgment, and of the rewards and puniſhments of another life. The Chriſtians furniſhed him with the example of a lent-faſt, which he preſcribed to his followers, of the frequent uſe of prayer, which he fixed to five times in a day, of charity towards the poor, and the forgiveneſs of enemies. And in regard to the pagans, he admitted an odd kind of predeſtination, which the ancient idolaters generally called deſtiny, a decree, which they believed eternal and uncontroulable, even by the will of their Gods.

THIS medley of different religions, in which every one imagined he ſaw the traces of his former belief, miſled

[a] Abdias Benſalon. [b] Sergius, aliter Bahira.

[c] See the diſcourſe upon the Alcoran, at the end of the fourth volume.

miſled ſeveral citizens of Mecca; and ſuch was the art and contrivance of the impoſtor, that he endeavoured to eſtabliſh his errors by the profeſſion of ſome great truths, and the ſeeming practice of as great virtues. The magiſtrate of Mecca being alarmed at the progreſs of this ſect, proſcribed the author and all that adhered to him; upon which the falſe prophet fled to another city of Arabia Petræa, called Yatrib, which he afterwards named Medina-al-nabi, or the city of the prophet. This flight, ſo famous among the Mahometans, and called in their language the Hegira, ſerved their hiſtorians afterwards for the æra of their chronology. And the firſt year of the * Muſulman period, according to the moſt received opinion, falls upon the twenty ſecond year of the ſeventh century.

622. Heg. 1.

MAHOMET being convinced, by the risk he had run at Mecca, that perſuaſion alone was not the way to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns, reſolved to have recourſe to arms. The impoſtor did not fail to ſummon heaven to his aſſiſtance; and it was not long before he gave out, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a ſword from God, with orders to ſubdue all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to embrace his new religion.

WE are not to look elſewhere for the cauſe of that aſtoniſhing progreſs, which, in ſo ſhort a time, this impious ſect made in Arabia, and afterwards in the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia. And it is highly probable, that if Mahomet could have foreſeen as much, he would have ſpared himſelf the pains of forging ſo many revelations, and adjuſting ſo great a number of materials, borrowed from other religions. This armed apoſtle began this new kind of miſſion with invading his neighbours. The lure of plunder, which has ſo many charms in the eyes of the Arabians, drew a great number to his ſtandard. No caravan could pass near his quarters without being expoſed to pillage; and by acting

* Note, the Muſulman year conſiſts of twelve lunar months, which is only three hundred and fifty four days; ſo that thirty three of our years is very near thirty four of theirs.

ting the robber, he inſenſibly attained to the fortune of a conqueror. Of his ſoldiers and vanquiſhed enemies he made new diſciples, whom he called Muſulmen, that is to ſay, Believers, or ſuch as are entered into the way of ſalvation. Being now as great a ſoldier, as he was an eloquent preacher, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of Mecca, and moſt of the fortified towns and caſtles of Arabia yielded to the force of his arms.* He was ſeconded in theſe wars by Abubekre his father-in-law, by Aly his couſin and ſon-in-law, and by Omar and Otman, all four his apoſtles and principal officers, fanaticks in good earneſt, and who became the willing ſubjects of an impoſtor, to whom they had at firſt been only diſciples. Mahomet, by his courage and conduct, was enabled to unite the ſacerdotal with the imperial authority in his own perſon, and in the ſpace of twenty three years of his pretended apoſtolate, others ſay in ten, almoſt all Arabia was reduced under his dominion, and at the ſame time had embraced his new religion. 645 or 632.

THE falſe prophet, at his death, had nominated Aly, his daughter Fatima's husband, for his ſucceſſor: but Mahomet's ſon-in-law found, by experience, that the laſt wills of the moſt abſolute princes are generally buried in their graves. Abubekre, being much older than Aly, was preferred before him by the intereſt of Omar and Otman, who, by making choice of a man in years, opened themſelves a paſſage in their turn to the ſame dignity. This election of Abubekre gave riſe afterwards to ſchiſms and civil wars among the Mahometans. The ſucceſſors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, i. e. vicars of the prophet, or of Almoumenians, i. e. princes or commanders of the faithful. Theſe firſt ſucceſſors, full of that fire and zeal which a new religion always inſpires, ſpread the doctrine of their maſter, and extended their own dominion into different countries, the one not advancing a ſtep without the other. It was not long before they finiſhed the conqueſt of Arabia, and drove out the Perſians

* Alc. c. 4. Cantacuzeni orat. 1. ſect. 12.

ſians and Greeks. From the latter, they afterwards took Damaſcus, Antioch, and all Syria, invaded Paleſtine, carried Jeruſalem, marched into Egypt and ſubdued it, abſolutely deſtroyed the Perſian monarchy, and made themſelves maſters of Media, Coraſſan or Bactriana, Diarbeick or Meſopotamia. Then they carried the War into Africa, where they made as ſurprizing a progreſs as ever, and ſubdued all the country that lies weſt of Egypt.

NOT to mention the iſles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, Malta and Goza, which they either ravaged or made themſelves maſters of, nor Spain, where the Arabians, in the beginning of the eight century, founded a new empire upon the ruins of the Gothick monarchy; great provinces of France, ſituated beyond the Loire, were expoſed to the fury of their arms; and if it had not been for the incomparable bravery and valour of Charles Martel, the fate and fortune of this kingdom would have been no better than that of Spain. In a word, they threatned the whole world with their chains. And the miſerable remains of the Greek empire would not at that time have been able to hold out againſt ſo formidable a power, if the heads of that nation had not quarrelled among themſelves. But the governors of provinces being too powerful for private men, aſſumed a ſovereign authority over them. We have ſeen, in different parts of Aſia and Africa, and at different times, no leſs than five caliphs, all pretending to be the off-ſpring of Mahomet, and the genuine interpreters of the law. Again, moſt of theſe caliphs being buried afterwards in luxury and effeminacy, left the civil and military government of their ſtates to emirs or ſultans, a ſort of mayors of the palace, who, in a ſhort time, made themſelves abſolute maſters of them, and for the moſt part left the caliphs nothing but the inſpection of religious affairs, the privilege of being named firſt in the public prayers, and ſome other ceremonial honours, without any power or authority.

OF

OF all the conqueſts gained by theſe infidels, none more ſenſibly affected the Chriſtians, than that of the Holy Land and the city of Jeruſalem. From the time of Conſtantine the Great, when chriſtianity became the religion of the empire, that was the moſt noted pilgrimage of all chriſtendom. The Greek and Latin Chriſtians, out of a pious perſuaſion that their greateſt ſins would be remitted at the feet of Chriſt's tomb, were, with equal eagerneſs, continually flocking to Jeruſalem; and the rather, in that there was till then a ſecure and eaſy acceſs to it through the territories of the empire. The revolution which had lately happened altered the caſe exceedingly; and the infidels, though they reverenced Jeſus Chriſt as a great prophet, yet, to raiſe their revenues, they laid a ſort of tribute upon all foreign pilgrims, that came out of devotion to the holy ſepulchre. But this oppreſſion was not ſufficient to cool the zeal of the Chriſtians of that age: there was for near three hundred years the ſame reſort of the Chriſtian nations, even from the remoteſt parts of the weſt. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, the caliphs or ſultans of Egypt, who were then maſters of Paleſtine, allowed the Greek Chriſtians, who were their ſubjects, to ſettle in Jeruſalem; and that they might not be intermixed with the Muſulmen, the governor of that capital of Judea aſſigned them the quarter neareſt the holy ſepulchre for their abode.

THE renown of the emperor Charlemagne's conqueſt and power ſpreading from Europe into Aſia, the caliph Aaron Raſchid, one of the moſt potent princes of the eaſt, permitted the French, out of regard to him, to have a houſe of their own in the holy city for the entertainment of ſuch pilgrims as were of that nation. Eginard relates, that the patriarch of Jeruſalem ſent that great prince, in the caliph's name, the keys of the holy ſepulchre, and of the church of mount Calvary, with a ſtandard, which the famous Abbe Fleury, the late writer of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, is of opinion was meant as a mark of the power and authority which Aaron had reſigned to that chriſtian prince. Another

modern

modern writer[a] learned in our antiquities, in the thirty seventh book of the annals of his order, tells us of one Bernard, a French monk, who lived in A. D. 870, and who, in his account of a voyage made to Jerusalem, relates, that he found there an hospital for the Latins, and that in the same house was a library, collected by the care and at the expence of the emperor Charlemagne.

But after the death of the caliph Aaron and his first successors, as those of Carlemagne did not come up to him either in power or reputation, the French lost the regard that had been formerly paid them in Palestine. They were no longer allowed to have any house of entertainment in Jerusalem; and though, like the other nations of Europe, they had, by virtue of their money, admittance into the holy city, and in the day-time made their stations in all the places antiently honoured with the presence and mysteries of our divine Saviour; yet, in the evening and night-time, it was not without great difficulty as well as danger, that they could find any place to retire to in the city. The Musulmen had naturally too great an aversion for the Christians to receive them into their houses: and some disputes that had started up in relation to doctrines not rightly understood, as well as some differences in point of discipline, having, in a manner, put an end to all union between the Greek and Latin churches, our European Christians were scarce less odious to the Greeks than they were to the Arabians and Sarazens of the east.

In the middle of the eleventh century, some Italian merchants, who had experienced the inhumanity of both the one and the other, undertook to procure an asylum for the European pilgrims, in the very city of Jerusalem, where they might have nothing to fear either from the the false zeal of the Mahometans, or the enmity and aversion of the schismatical Greeks. These pious merchants were of Amalphy, a city in the kingdom of Naples, but at that time subject to the

[a] Dom. Mabillon.

the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople. Their affairs, in regard to trade and commerce, called them almoſt every year into Egypt, where, by means of their rich merch ndizes, as well as ſome curious pieces of workmanſhip which they brought thither from Europe, they were introduced to the court of the caliph Monſtaſer-billah; and diſtributing ſome conſiderable preſents among his domeſticks and miniſters, they obtained leave for the Latin Chriſtians to build a houſe of entertainment near the holy ſepulchre in Jeruſalem.

THE governor, by that prince's order, aſſign-
1048 ed them a piece of ground, on which they built a chapel, and dedicated it to the bleſſed virgin, by the name of St. Mary ad Latinos, to diſtinguiſh it from the churches where divine ſervice was celebrated according to the Greek ritual; ſome monks of the Benedictine order officiated in it. Near their convent they built two houſes of entertainment for the reception of pilgrims of both ſexes, whether in health or ſickneſs, which was the chief view in this foundation; and each houſe had afterwards a chapel in it, the one dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and the other to St. Magdalen.

SOME lay-perſons from Europe, full of zeal and charity, renouncing the thoughts of returning into their own country, devoted themſelves in this religious houſe to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims, and were ſubſiſted by the monks above-mentioned: and the merchants of Amalphy, out of the alms which they collected in Italy, and either brought or ſent regularly every year to the holy land, ſupplied the wants of the pilgrims or ſick. That ſacred truſt of the charity of the faithful they remitted into the hands of perſons, conſecrated, as we have ſaid, to the ſervice of the Chriſtians of the weſt. This holy houſe, governed by the Benedictine monks, and which may be looked upon as the craddle of the order of St. John, ſerved afterwards for a place of ſecurity and retreat for pilgrims. The Latin Chriſtians were there entertained and provided for, without any diſtinction of nation or condition. There

they cloathed again such as had been stripped by robbers; there the sick were treated with care, and every kind of misery found in the charity of these Hospitallers, a new kind of mercy to relieve it.[a]

YET this pious and useful foundation had like to have been ruined in its very infancy, and it had hardly subsisted seventeen years, when the Turcomans conquered Palestine, surprized the city of Je- 1050
rusalem, and cut the caliph of Egypt's garrison in pieces.

THESE Barbarians came out of the heart of Tartary. 'Tis said that they were originally inhabitants of that part of the Asiatick Sarmatia, which lies between mount Caucasus, the River Tanais, the Palus Mæotis, and the Caspian sea. They afterwards crossed the Wolga, traversed all the northern coast of the Caspian sea, and settled in that part of Tartary which runs between several branches of mount Imaus and along the side of the river Iaxartes; a country still called from them Turqueſtan. Historians are not agreed whether it was the Greek emperors, or the kings of Persia, that first brought them into that part of Asia, and called them in to their assistance. What appears more certain is, that some officers of that nation entered afterwards into the pay of the Arabians or Saracens, who, to keep them in their service, after they had made themselves masters of Persia, assigned them lands in those great provinces, where they settled from that time with their families. It seems they had scarce any religion besides a confused notion of a first being, creator of heaven and earth, author, as they said, of life and death, who sent health or sickness to men according to his own good pleasure. No such thing as divine worship was known among them; only in their sickness they had recourse to some magicians, a sort of priests, who, after exacting presents from them, and using some senseless conjuring tricks, persuaded them that they appeased the angry deity for them. This colony, out of complaisance to their new masters, turned after-

[a] Willielm. Tyrrienſis. hiſt. l. 1.

afterwards Mahometans, and in time multiplying exceedingly, they ſhook off the yoke of the Arabians, but without quitting their religion, in which the greateſt part of them had been bred. Other tribes and people of the ſame nation paſſing the Iaxartes, and traverſing the Mauralnahar, joined themſelves to theſe firſt comers, made their way to the banks of the Oxus, and advanced even into Coroſan.

ALL theſe Turcomans thus re-united together, levied vaſt armies, and choſe three gene- 1065.
rals to command them, all taken out of the ſame family, and deſcended from one Salguez, whoſe memory they held in ſingular veneration. The firſt of theſe generals was Togrul-beg. Sprung as he was out of the midſt of a ſavage nation, he had nothing of the barbarian in him, but boldneſs and ignorance, or a contempt of dangers. He was profuſe in his recompences to his ſoldiers, cruel in his puniſhments of thoſe who had ſhewed a want of courage, and was therefore revered by a nation, among whom the art of making one's ſelf dreaded was of more weight than all the virtues put together. This was the prince, who in 1055, under the title of chief of the emirs, or ſultan, made himſelf maſter of Bagdat, and of the great empire of the Arabian caliphs. Jafer-bei or Jafer-beg his couſin, chief of the ſecond branch, ſeized on his ſide upon Quirman, and the vaſt tracts of country which lye towards the Perſian ſea and the Indies. Cultumiſes, another couſin of Togrul-beg and Jafer, had advanced before them, and A. D. 1050, had made the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia or Anatolia acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and fixed the ſeat of his empire at Iconium. Togrul-beg dying without iſſue about A. D. 1063, Alubarſlan, his nephew and ſucceſſor, kept up the dignity of ſultan with no leſs valour than his uncle. This prince gaining a ſignal victory over the Greeks, took the emperor Diogenes priſoner upon that occaſion. It is ſaid, that the ſon of Alubarſlan, called Gelaleddin, was the moſt powerful of theſe Selgeucidian princes, and that his empire ex-

tended from the farthest provinces of Turqueſtan to Jeruſalem, and even to the borders of Arabia Felix: a new revolution this in Aſia, carried on with a rapidity not inferior or leſs ſurprizing than that which the Arabians had brought about four hundred years before. It was the lieutenants of Gelaleddin, ſurnamed Maleſcha, who, after reducing Syria, chaſed the Sarazens out of Paleſtine, and in 1065 ſeized on the city of Jeruſalem.

No deſcription can reach all the cruelties which they committed there: the garriſon of the caliph of Egypt was cut in pieces, as I ſaid before. The inhabitants and the Chriſtians ſcarce met with a better fate: numbers of them were butchered; the hoſpital of St. John was plundered, and theſe barbarians, fierce and cruel in their nature, would have deſtroyed the holy ſepulchre, had not their avarice reſtrained their impiety. The fear of loſing the revenues raiſed upon the pilgrims of the weſt, preſerved the tomb of our Saviour[a]. But theſe infidels, to gratify at once their avarice and their hatred to every thing that bore the name of Chriſtian, loaded them with heavier tributes; ſo that the pilgrims, after having ſpent all their money in the courſe of ſo long a voyage, or being ſtripped by robbers, and worn out with hunger and miſeries of all ſorts, at laſt, for want of ability to diſcharge ſuch exceſſive tributes, periſhed at the gates of Jeruſalem, without being able to obtain of theſe barbarians the conſolation only of ſeeing, before they expired, the holy ſepulchre, the only object of their vows, and the end of ſo tedious a pilgrimage.

SUCH as eſcaped from under theſe cruel oppreſſions, did not fail at their return to Europe to give ſad deſcriptions of them. They repreſented in the moſt moving colours the indignity of ſuffering the holy places to remain under the dominion of infidels. But the

[a] Soli etiam Dominici ſepulcri templo, ejuſque cultoribus chriſtianis parcebant, propter tributa quæ ex oblatione fidelium aſſidue eis fideliterque ſolvebantur, unà cum eccleſia ſanctæ Mariæ ad Latinos quæ etiam tributaria erat. Alb. Aquenſ. l. 6. p. 281.

the power of these Barbarians was so formidable, the Greek empire so weakened, and moreover the princes of Europe so remote and disunited among themselves, that the delivery of Jerusalem was looked upon as an impracticable attempt.

YET a single man called Peter the Hermit, of the dioceſs of Amiens, who had himself experienced part of the miſeries before mentioned, formed the bold deſign of recovering the Holy Land into the hands of the Chriſtian princes. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to Simeon the Greek patriarch, a prelate of great piety. And as the hermit founded part of his views upon the eaſtern Chriſtians, and the power of the Greek empire, the patriarch replied, he ſaw plainly that he ſpoke of the forces of that empire as a ſtranger, and without knowing them; adding, that nothing was now left of that great title but an empty name, and a dignity without power; that the Turcomans, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the emperors, and of the diviſions and inteſtine wars that were continually breaking out in the empire, had lately ſeized on moſt of the provinces ſituated upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, and, as a monument of their victories, had given them the name of Turcomania; that the other provinces of the empire were ravaged in their turns, ſometimes by the inroads of Barbarians, and frequently for want of pay, by the very Chriſtian troops placed there for their defence; that the grandees of the empire, in hopes of mounting the throne, had moſt of them no other thought than how to raiſe ſeditions in the imperial city, or debauch the armies into rebellion; that the empreſſes, who never reckoned chaſtity among the virtues, had often made the imperial dignity ſerve as a recompence to their adulterers; that even the eunuchs of the palace, monſters that are neither men nor women, had, by their intereſt and intrigues, a great ſhare in theſe revolutions, and that within thirty years paſt they had ſeen no leſs than ten emperors upon the throne of the great Conſtantine, moſt of whom ended their reign by a tragical death, or at leaſt with the

loſs of their eyes; and if any were ſuffered to live or enjoy the uſe of their ſight, it was only becauſe they were deſpiſed to ſuch a degree, that being ſent to a monaſtery, they were not reckoned any longer in the number of the living; that the emperor Michael Ducat, ſurnamed Parapinaces, had been dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates; and the uſurper, to ſecure the crown to himſelf, had made prince Conſtantine Ducas (eldeſt ſon of Michael, and husband to Helena, daughter of Guiſcard the Norman) an eunuch; that the emperor Alexis Comnenus, who was then upon the throne, had made his way to it by the like treacheries, and by rebelling againſt Botoniates, whom he had depoſed in his turn; that this new emperor was indeed a man of capacity, but more feared by his ſubjects than by his neighbours; and that, after all, ſo far was any one from having reaſon to flatter himſelf with the ſufficiency of this prince's power to ſettle the Chriſtians again in Jeruſalem, that he was hard put to it to ſtop the progreſs of the arms of the Turcomans, who had lately ſeized on Nice, which the Selgeucidians of the third dynaſty had made the capital of that particular monarchy; that in another quarter, Alexis was engaged in war with Robert Guiſcard, count or duke of Calabria, and Bohemund his ſon, Norman princes, and irreconcileable enemies to the Greeks; that they had taken the field and ravaged the territories of the empire, to revenge themſelves on Alexis for his impriſonment and cruel uſage of the princeſs Helena, daughter to Guiſcard, and wife to Conſtantine Ducas; that theſe two Norman princes, enraged at his perfidiouſneſs, and for the delivery of the princeſs, had invaded Thrace, cut Alexis's armies in pieces, and would have dethroned him in his turn, had not other affairs, which they were obliged to attend, called them back for a time into Italy; but that the emperor was in continual apprehenſions that the thunderbolt to hurl him from his throne would be lanced from that houſe.

THE patriarch from this diſcourſe concluded, that in order to deliver the Holy Land out of the hands of

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the infidels, no aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Greeks, and that nothing but a league of the Latin princes could make ſo difficult an enterprize ſucceed. This propoſal ſtartled the hermit; but far from abating his zeal, tho' he foreſaw all the difficulties attending it, he ſtill flattered himſelf that they might be got over with the aſſiſtance and protection of the pope. The patriarch by his advice wrote to the head of the church in the moſt moving terms. The hermit undertook to deliver his letters, took ſhipping at the port of Joppa or Jafa, arrived in Italy, preſented the patriarch's letters to the poope, and laid before him, with tears in his eyes, the miſerable condition that the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem were reduced to. He added, that the Arabians or Sarazens had built a moſque upon the old ruins of the famous temple of Solomon; that the venerable church of the holy ſepulchre, under the dominion of the Turcomans, was every moment in danger of the like profanation; that the Chriſtian women and virgins were often expoſed to the brutality of thoſe Barbarians; and if any youths fell into their power, they had reaſon to be afraid of infamies more inſupportable than death itſelf; in fine, that the Holy Land, watered formerly with the precious blood of the Saviour of mankind, was entirely reduced under their tyranny; yet it was not impoſſible to reſcue it from that ſcandalous ſlavery, would he but vouchſafe to engage moſt of the European princes in an enterprize ſo worthy of his zeal and piety.

THE pope that the hermit applied to was Urban II. a Frenchman by birth, and born at Chattillon on the Marne. Though the air and habit of a ſingle hermit did not prepoſſeſs him in his favour; yet his holineſs heard him out with much humanity, and was the leſs ſurprized at the greatneſs of his project, becauſe pope Gregory VII. a pontiff who imagined himſelf the ſovereign of kings, and whoſe vaſt attempts had no bounds, had likeways formed a deſign of obliging all the Chriſtian princes by his authority to take up arms againſt the Mahometans. Urban, who, upon the death

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of Victor III. had juſt ſucceeded him, had no leſs zeal than he; but being more regular in his views, he did not think it proper to declare himſelf, till he had firſt ſounded the diſpoſition, and examined into the forces of the princes of Europe. This prudent conduct was founded upon the general diſcontent which the emperors and monarchs of Chriſtendom had ſhewn at the odious pretenſions of Gregory, who, under colour of a ſpiritual authority, which they could not diſpute, had attempted to reduce all ſovereign Princes to the condition of his tributaries and vaſſals. Urban, it is likely, was very ſenſible, that at a time of ſo much uneaſineſs and diſcontent, when every thing that came from the court of Rome might be ſuſpected of a ſecret ambition, it was not proper to make uſe of his own name and authority openly to oblige the Chriſtian princes to take up arms, for fear the deſign ſhould miſcarry. He reſolved therefore firſt to have only the neceſſity and merit of it recommended from the pulpit. With this view, calling the hermit, and extolling highly his zeal, he exhorted him to travel over moſt of the provinces of Chriſtendom, and ſtir up ſovereigns and their ſubjects to arm for reſcuing the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels; and the pope, at taking leave, gave him to underſtand, that if his miſſion ſucceeded well, they might depend on the ſpiritual treaſures of the church, and even powerful ſuccours of men and money ſhould not be wanting to thoſe who would engage in ſo holy an enterprize.

THE hermit, diſmiſſed with his holineſs's bleſſing, traverſed all Europe in leſs than a year's time. Wherever he went he put every thing in motion: the tragical deſcriptions that he gave of the profanation of the holy places; his lively and pathetick exhortations; his long and uncouth beard; his walking barefoot; his auſtere life; his exceſſive abſtinence, and even the money which he received only to give away immediately to the poor; all this made him be regarded as a ſaint and a prophet, and the great world as well as

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the populace, burnt with impatience to go to the Holy Land to revenge the outrages of the infidels upon Jeſus Chriſt.

THE pope having notice of this ſurprizing ſucceſs, reſolved to declare himſelf. He called two councils the ſame year, one at Placentia in Italy, the other at Clermont in Auvergne. At the council in Placentia there were no leſs than four thouſand eccleſiaſticks, and more than thirty thouſand laity of different conditions; but what was ſtill more extraordinary, was to ſee (during the ſchiſm) ſome Greek embaſſadors there. The emperor Alexis Comnenus had ſent them to implore the aſſiſtance of the Latins againſt the Turcomans, who, after ſeizing on the city of Nice, threatned Calcedon, and even Conſtantinople itſelf, with a ſiege. The pope took occaſion from this embaſſy to bewail the miſeries of the eaſt, and eſpecially of Paleſtine, which was fallen under the ſlavery of thoſe Barbarians. At the account given by theſe embaſſadors of their cruelties, the whole aſſembly rang with indignation and rage. A thouſand confuſed voices were heard, crying out, that they muſt go and defend their brethren in Chriſt Jeſus. The pope exhorted them to remember this their generous reſolution when the proper time came for putting it in execution. 1095.

THE ſame zeal diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the council of Clermont; where were preſent a great number of prelates, princes and nobility, moſt of them French, or vaſſals of the crown of France. After a diſcourſe infinitely moving, made by the pope to perſuade the Chriſtians to an expedition for delivering the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Mahometans, the whole aſſembly cried out as it were by concert, Dieu le veut, Dieu le veut, [*God will have it ſo*; *God will have it ſo*;] and theſe three words ſerved afterwards for a device and ſhout of war in the army: and for the diſtinguiſhing of ſuch as engaged in this holy enterprize, it was ordered, that they ſhould wear a red croſs on their right ſhoulder.

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As ſoon as the council was broke up, the biſhops who had aſſiſted at it, returning to their dioceſſes, began to preach the croiſade, and did it with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the world was for taking the voyage of Aſia. It looked as if there had been no other way to heaven but this; they ſtrove who ſhould ſet out firſt; princes, lords, gentlemen, citizens and peaſants, every one quitted with joy what he held moſt dear, wife, children and parents, ſo true is it, that men ſeem only made to imitate one another.

In truth, all that took upon them the cruſade were not led by the ſame motives: ſeveral went into the eaſt only out of intereſted views, and in hopes of ſettling there; ſome enrolled themſelves in this holy militia, only to avoid the imputation of cowardice; others engaged in it out of levity, for company, and becauſe they would not part with their relations and friends. The very women did the ſame, that they might not be ſeparated from their lovers; in a word, the monk and the recluſe tired out with their cells, the peaſant weary of his labour, all blinded by the feeble glittering of a falſe zeal, abandoned their ſtation and former calling; all which in truth formed a prodigious number of cruſaders. But amidſt this multitude of people of various conditions, there were men indeed in abundance, yet but few ſoldiers; and ſuch an enterprize would have miſcarried in its very infancy, even before the militia of the cruſade had got out of Europe, had they not been ſuſtained by great bodies of regular troops, commanded by princes and lords of conſummate valour and experience, and animated by a pure zeal for delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels.

Among theſe lords were reckoned up [a] Raiment of St. Giles, count of Thouloufe, the firſt who took the croſs, and who had already ſignalized himſelf in Spain, at the head of the armies of Alphonſo VI. againſt the Arabians and Sarazens of Africa; Hugh ſurnamed the Great, brother to Philip I. king of France,

[a] Baldric,

and count of Vermandois in right of his Wife; Robert, Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus, king of England; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Charters and Blois; Godfrey of Boulogne, count of the lower Lorrain or Brabant, with his brothers Euſtace and Baldwin; Baldwin du Bourg their couſin, and ſon to the count of Retel, beſides a great number of other lords and gentlemen, moſt of them ſubjects or vaſſals of the crown of France, who ſold their cattle and lands on that occaſion, to furniſh the expence of this armament.

NONE of the kings of Europe appeared in this firſt expedition. Henry IV. ſon of Conrad II. furnamed the Salique, was at that time emperor of Germany: and whether we conſider his dignity, or reflect upon his ſingular bravery, his great experience in the command of his armies and forces, there was not in all Chriſtendom a prince more worthy to be at the head of the cruſade. But in all appearance he was detained in his own dominions by the differences which had broke out between the popes and emperors, and had for more than fifty years been tearing the church and the empire in pieces. The form of giving inveſtiture of the great eccleſiaſtical dignities was the pretence; but the ſovereignty of Rome and Italy was the true reaſon of theſe differences. The popes, placed in that high degree of temporal power, to which the liberality of the kings of France had raiſed them, could not bear to hear ſpeak of the rights which the kings of the Romans and the emperors of the weſt had exerciſed formerly in Rome, and over the reſt of Italy. Hence aroſe ſchiſms, wars and inſurrections, which hindered the emperor from leaving Germany and the center of his dominions. The effeminacy and a criminal attachment which Philip I. king of France, had for Bertrade, wife of Fulk le Rechin, count of Anjou, detained him in his kingdom. To ſay nothing of William Rufus, king of England, ſon of William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy, who had conquered the Engliſh, a haughty and reſtleſs nation,

tion, jealous of their liberty, and impatient of any government, more especially of a foreign one; so that to be absent at such a distance, in the beginning of a new reign, would have been contrary to all the rules of prudence. As for the kings of Castile, Arragon and Navarre, they were too much taken up in defending their own dominions from the Arabians and Sarazens of Spain, to dream of any other enterprizes.

SPAIN, since the invasion of the Sarazens, was become as it were the theatre of a continual crusade; and the bravest of all the European nobility repaired ordinarily thither, to make their first essay in arms against those infidels. In this armament therefore for the Holy Land, there were scarce any but private princes and French lords, whose fathers, or at most their grandfathers, taking advantage of the decline of the house of Charlemagne, and by virtue of their feoffments, had, from private governors of cities or provinces, erected themselves insensibly into sovereigns of their governments. Such was the origin of the many principalities, which at the end of the second, and beginning of the third race, had dismembered this powerful monarchy.

IN the mean time, the princes who had taken the cross began their march from all parts. 1096.
The Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, commonwealths powerful at sea, transported part of them into Greece. The general rendezvous was in the plains near Constantinople. The famous Bohemund, who had already made war with such glorious success upon the Sarazens, and even upon the emperor Alexis, was at that time besieging a castle in the Terra di Lavoro with count Roger his uncle. No sooner did he receive the first news of the croisade, with the number and quality of the principal lords engaged in it, than, transported with zeal, and seized with a pious rage, he cut in pieces his coat of arms, and made it into crosses, taking the first himself, and distributing the rest to his principal officers. Among these lords were the brave Tancred his nephew, the counts Ranulph and Richard

his

his couſins, Herman de Cani, Humfrey ſon of Rodolph, Robert de Sourdeval, and a great number of other gentlemen, all Normans by birth or deſcent, whoſe fathers or themſelves had, at the expence of the Sarazens and Greeks, made conſiderable ſettlements in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. As theſe illuſtrious adventurers, or their deſcendants, will bear a great part in the courſe of this hiſtory, we think ourſelves obliged to give a ſhort account, on what occaſion they tranſported themſelves from the heart of Normandy, and ſettled in the lower Italy.

ABOUT the year 1000 or 1003, forty Norman gentlemen, all warriors, who had ſignalized themſelves in the armies of the dukes of Normandy, returning from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, arrived in Italy without arms, and only with their ſtaff and chaplet, the uſual equipage of pilgrims, and which our kings themſelves in the following cruſades went to receive at St. Dennis. Theſe Norman pilgrims hearing that the town of Salerno was beſieged by the Sarazens, were prompted by a religious zeal to throw themſelves into the place. Guimard was prince of it, and ſhut up in it. He furniſhed them with arms and horſes; and theſe ſtrangers made ſo many unexpected and vigorous ſallies upon the infidels, that they obliged them to raiſe the ſiege. The prince of Salerno, admiring the bravery of theſe Normans, and their ſkill in the art of war, offered them rich preſents, and made a propoſal of conſiderable ſettlements, in order to retain them in his ſervice. But thoſe gentlemen, called home by the love we naturally bear to our country, refuſed every thing that was offered them; and told him, they had no other view in taking up arms but the glory of God and the defence of religion. Upon their departure, Guimard is ſaid to have ſent deputies after them, who, to excite the zeal and courage of the Norman gentry, and to engage them to come and ſettle in Italy, carried into that province ſtuffs of great value, magnificent furniture for horſes, and even pomegranates, oranges, lemons and almonds, 1003.

which they preſented to ſeveral gentlemen, as a proof of the mildneſs of their climate, and the goodneſs of the ſoil, wherein they had the offer of lands and Caſtles *.

A GREAT number of the Normans, tempted by the promiſes of theſe envoys, took their wives and children, and bid adieu to their country; and during this whole century, ſome or other of that nation were continually paſſing into Italy. The moſt conſiderable of them were the ſons of Tancred de Hauteville, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Coutance in the lower Normandy. He had twelve ſons, all bearing arms: The eldeſt, who ſerved as a leader to theſe adventurers, was called William, and ſurnamed Bras de fer, or Iron arm, on account of his great ſtrength and valour. Drogon or Dreux was the ſecond; Humfrey the third; Herman, Robert and Roger were the three laſt. Hiſtory has not conveyed to us the names of the other ſons of Tancred, and we do not ſo much as know, whether they paſſed into Italy.

THERE were in this country three ſorts of governments, that of ſome little princes, the old remains of the Lombards, and independent one of another: A ſecond canton was ſubject to the Greek emperors; but the Sarazens had uſurped the greater part of it. The ſons of Hauteville ſoon formed a third power, which ſwallowed up all the reſt. The Italians and Greeks were, as we have obſerved, the people who had called them in to their ſuccour againſt the Sarazens.

THE Normans of Italy, united together under the banner of the ſons of Hauteville, entered into the ſervice of the Greeks, carried towns, won battles, and by their heroick actions, drove the infidels out of moſt of the places which they were poſſeſſed of. But they were ill recompenſed for it. The Greeks, who had called them in to their ſuccour, inconſtant and jealous of the power they inſenſibly acquired in the country, made uſe of the worſt of treacheries to deſtroy the leaders of that nation. The ſons of Hauteville were under

* Guill. Gemet, l. 7.

under a neceſſity of ſtanding upon their defence againſt ſuch ſcoundrel enemies, and did it with their uſual valour, and ſuch a train of ſucceſs, that after numberleſs fatigues, dangers and engagements, they took Calabria, Apulia and Sicily from the Greeks; and perhaps were not ſorry to have been furniſhed with the pretence of an advantageous vengeance, and the opportunity of ſeizing on thoſe rich countries. Upon this they divided thoſe great provinces between them: Robert Guiſcard had the county of Calabria, and was afterwards the moſt powerful of all the brothers: He was called Guiſcard, on account of his dexterity, and the ſtratagems that he uſed in war; and we are now going to ſee prince Bohemund his eldeſt ſon, ſo formidable already to the Greeks for his valour, diſtinguiſh himſelf as much againſt the infidels by his conduct and management, and acquire a new glory in the eaſt.

THIS prince, before his departure, and in view of making a powerful acquiſition in Aſia, reſigned his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, named Roger after his uncle; reſerving to himſelf no other reſource but the city of Tarento, and the hopes of making new conqueſts in the eaſt. After this he croſſed the ſea, at the head of ten thouſand horſe, and a great body of foot, and upon his landing, advanced towards Conſtantinople, in order to join the other troops of the cruſade. The pope wrote at the ſame time to the emperor of Conſtantinople, that above three hundred thouſand men were marching to his ſuccour, and to deliver the holy places out of the hands of the infidels. He mentioned to him the principal chieftains of the cruſade, and exhorted him to be expeditious in giving the neceſſary orders for the ſubſiſtence of theſe troops. They arrived in rank and file ſucceſſively from different places; and at a general review, made in the plains of Conſtantinople, they muſtered an hundred thouſand horſe, and no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand foot, including prieſts, monks, and an infinite number of women in mens cloaths, moſt of which, to the

ſcandal of Chriſtianity, proſtituted themſelves to the ſoldiers.

THE Greek emperor, inſtead of a competent ſuccour which he had asked, was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee his dominions over-run with ſuch innumerable troops, as were in a condition to preſcribe to him in the very capital of his own empire. Alexis was more particularly afraid of Bohemund, whoſe valour and conduct he had felt; and to get rid of theſe allies, more terrible to him than open enemies, he reſolved to gain the chiefs by careſſes and preſents, and at the ſame time to leave no ſtone untryed to cut off proviſions from the ſoldiers, and deſtroy ſuch as ſtrolled from their colours in ſearch of them. By this artful conduct, without declaring himſelf openly, he did the Latins more miſchief, than all the forces of the Turcomans put together.

BY his orders, they carried every day preſents and refreſhments to the princes of the cruſade; nay, to remove all kind of ſuſpicion, he would needs engage himſelf in it: he took the badge with great ſolemnity, and, by a treaty with the European princes, obliged himſelf to join his fleet with that of the Latins; to furniſh them with proviſions as far as Jeruſalem, and to repair in perſon to the main body of the army, at the head of his troops, in order to act in concert againſt the infidels, whether Turcomans, Arabians or Sarazens.

THOSE of the cruſade, blinded by theſe fine promiſes, agreed, on the other hand, to reſtore him Nice, which the Turcomans had lately ſeized, and ſuch other places belonging to the empire as they ſhould recover from the Barbarians; or at leaſt, in caſe the Latins were for keeping them, it was agreed that they ſhould do homage to him for them. In purſuance of this treaty, ſeveral weſtern lords, hoping to make themſelves maſters of ſome principalities in the eaſt, took the oath of fidelity to him beforehand.

THE emperor, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, being ſtill uneaſy to ſee a formidable army at the gates

gates of his capital, and in a condition to prescribe to him what terms they pleased even in his own palace, was continually pressing the chiefs to lose no time in entering Bithynia, that, as he pretended, they might surprize and get the start of the infidels: he even furnished them with a great number of transports for that purpose. The princes, deceived by this appearance of zeal for the common cause, passed the Bosphorus, and, after some days march, invested Nice. Soliman the Turcoman of the Selgeucidian race, a relation of Togrul-beg, and sultan of Iconium, had thrown a strong garrison into Nice.[a] The attack was brisk, and the defence very obstinate; the Turcomans disputed the ground inch by inch, and only yielded to a formidable power, which no place seemed able to hold out against. The governor, after a seige of thirty four days, surrendered Nice to the Latin Christians, who, pursuant to their treaty with the Greek emperor, fairly delivered it up to the officers of that prince, with the wife and children of Soliman, who, by the capitulation, remained prisoners of war.

May 14. 1097. June 20.

ALEXIS was not so much affected with the taking of Nice, as he was alarmed at the valour and courage which those of the crusade had shewn in the attack. He made no question but they would soon subdue the greater part of Asia; and were he to chuse his neighbours, he was for those that he thought the weakest, and no longer dreamed of any thing but making a secret alliance with the infidels, to traverse the conquests of the Latin Christians, which now appeared to him the more formidable of the two.

WITH this view, he restored Soliman his wife and children, as an earnest of the friendship he was desirous to contract with him. They entered into a strict alliance; and the perfidious Greek, in execution of this secret treaty, far from going in person to the Christian army, supplying it with provisions, or join-

[a] Bibl. orient. p. 822.

ing his fleet to that of the Latins, according to his engagements in the treaty of Conſtantinople, gave private orders to the generals of his army to keep cloſe to that of the Latins; and his troops, in concert with thoſe of Soliman, cut in pieces the ſoldiers that ſtraggled, either to ſeek proviſions, or to go a foraging.

THE ſultan did not rely ſo entirely on the treaty he had juſt made with the emperor, but that he thought at the ſame time of procuring ſuch ſuccours as were more to be depended on. For this purpoſe he made application to the ſultans of Antioch, Aleppo, Bagdat and Perſia, all princes of his own nation, of the ſame houſe, and intereſted as neighbours to prevent his ruin. Theſe princes immediately levied vaſt armies; and if, on the one hand, all France in a manner had paſſed into the eaſt with thoſe of the cruſade, it looked on the other hand, as if the greateſt part of Aſia had taken up arms on this occaſion.

So general and vaſt an armament alarmed the caliph of Egypt, whoſe empire extended into Syria, and as far as Laodicea. This prince, an Arabian by deſcent, and chief of the ſect of Ali, fearing leaſt the Turcomans, who acknowledged the caliph of Bagdat for their head in ſpirituals, ſhould, under pretence of oppoſing the Latin Chriſtians, turn their arms againſt him, ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the cruſade, to propoſe a league againſt all the Turcomans. And as he was ſenſible that the conqueſt of Jeruſalem was the main view of the Chriſtian army, it was ſtipulated by a treaty, that he ſhould declare himſelf againſt their common enemies; that each of them ſhould ſeparately attack the Turcomans; that the capital of Judea ſhould, with all its dependencies, be put into the hands of the Latin Chriſtians; that for his part he ſhould reſume the poſſeſſion of the other places which the Turcomans had taken from him; and if they extended their conqueſts to the territories of the enemy, they ſhould be divided equally between them.[a]

THE

[a] Raymond d'Agil.

THE Chriſtian princes having ſigned this treaty, ſent it back to the caliph by his ambaſſadors, together with others from themſelves, to aſſiſt in their name at the ratification of it.

BUT the politick caliph, who was for regulating his conduct by events, detained the ambaſſadors at his court upon various pretences, to ſee, before he declared himſelf more openly, on which ſide the victory would turn.

BY the treaty between the princes of the cruſade and the emperor Alexis, they were obliged, as we have ſaid, to put into his hands all ſuch imperial towns as they ſhould take from the infidels, or elſe to hold them of him as his vaſſals: and the emperor, for his part, was to ſend his troops to the main body of the army, and ſupply the Latins with proviſions till the taking of Jeruſalem.

BUT as the Greek prince openly broke his word, the princes of the cruſade thought themſelves diſcharged of their engagements. Theſe princes, after the taking of Nice, continued their march and their conqueſts, dividing their troops for their more eaſy ſubſiſtence. Thoſe who commanded theſe different bodies, ſeized on moſt of the towns in Anatolia. All Cilicia fell before them: Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, made himſelf maſter of the county of Edeſſa, the people whereof, though ſubject to the Turcomans, were moſt of them Chriſtians; and, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the infidels, he ſtruck up an alliance with an Armenian prince, and married his niece.

THE main army of the Latins advancing into Syria, marched up to Antioch, and inveſted it. There was in the city a compleat army for a garriſon; and ſeveral bodies of Turks, coming up to relieve the place, kept the Chriſtians themſelves in a manner beſieged. The ſiege of Antioch at the end of ſeven months was ſcarce farther advanced than it was the firſt day, and they would have been obliged to riſe up, had it not been for the contrivance of Bohemund, who gained one of the chief inhabitants. By Oct. 21.

means

means of this intelligence, one of the gates was opened to him, and this prince, at the head of the troops which he commanded, firſt entered the place, and planted his ſtandards on the towers of Antioch. The princes of the cruſade in requital, granted him the ſovereignty of it, and he preſerved afterwards, by his valour, a principality that he had acquired by his management; a prince young and handſome, of a ready capacity and inſinuating behaviour, as great a politician as he was a ſoldier, and of whom the princeſs Anna, in the hiſtory of her father the emperor Alexis, ſays ſo many good things, and at the ſame time ſo many bad ones; both perhaps becauſe ſhe liked him too well.

June 28. 1098. THE taking of Antioch, and a ſignal victory gained by Bohemund over Querbouca, general of Berearuc, ſultan of Perſia, and ſon of Gellaleden, opened a free paſſage to the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. But the caliph of Egypt was beforehand with the Chriſtians. That infidel prince, taking advantage of the confuſion the Selgeucidians were in, took the field, and recovered the capital of Judea, which the Turcomans had ſeized about thirty eight years before.

THE caliph of Egypt, ſeeing the Chriſtians and Turcomans equally weakened by ſuch a number of ſieges and engagements, found his intereſt had changed with his fortune. He ſent their ambaſſadors back to the princes of the cruſade, without thinking fit to ratify the treaty concluded with his miniſters; and charged the Chriſtian ambaſſadors to tell their maſters, that having been happy enough to recover with his own forces alone a place which his predeceſſors were in poſſeſſion of more than four hundred years, he knew very well how to keep it without any foreign ſuccour; but the gates of it ſhould be always open to Chriſtian pilgrims, provided they came thither but in ſmall numbers, and without arms.

THE princes of the cruſade reſenting this breach of faith, and giving themſelves little diſturbance about his

power,

power, ſent him word, that with the ſame keys with which they had opened the gates of Nice, Antioch, Tarſus and Edeſſa, they knew how to open thoſe of Jeruſalem: And after refreſhing their troops during the winter-ſeaſon and part of the ſpring, they marched ſtraight to Jeruſalem, and arrived there the ſeventh of June, A. D. 1099. June 7. 1099.

OF that infinite number of the cruſade which ſet out from Europe, which amounted to near ſeven hundred thouſand men, the greateſt part had either periſhed in the field, were carried off by ſickneſs, or had deſerted their colours, without reckoning the garriſons they were obliged to leave in Cilicia, the county of Edeſſa, and principality of Antioch; ſo that there hardly remained twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe fit for ſervice.

THE caliph, or rather Aladin, ſultan and general of the caliph, had thrown forty thouſand regular troops into the place, beſides twenty thouſand inhabitants, Mahometans by religion, whom he had obliged to take up arms. The governor of the city ſhut up the Chriſtians he ſuſpected in different priſons, and among the reſt, the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem.

HE was a Frenchman, and named Gerard, born, as ſome hiſtorians [a] relate, in the iſland of Martigues in Provence. A deſire of viſiting the holy places had brought him to Jeruſalem, where ſeeing the charity exerciſed in the hoſpital of St. John, and being moved with ſo eminent an example, he had devoted himſelf long before to the ſervice of the pilgrims, at the ſame time that Agnes, a Roman lady of illuſtrious birth, governed the houſe appointed for the reception of perſons of her ſex.

ALL pilgrims were admitted into the hoſpital of St. John without diſtinction of Greek and Latin; the very infidels received alms there; and the inhabitants in general, of what religion ſoever they were, looked upon

[a] Hiſtoire de Provence par Bouche, t. 1. p. 32.

upon the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital, as the common father of all the poor of the city.

'TWAS this general eſteem, and the fear leſt he ſhould make uſe of it in favour of the beſieged, that induced the governor to have him taken into cuſtody. That commander, to render the ſiege more difficult, cauſed all the wells and ciſterns for five or ſix miles round the city to be filled up: at the ſame time, he demoliſhed the ſuburbs, and burnt all ſuch timber belonging to the houſes as might ſerve for making military engines. But all theſe precautions, the fortifications of the place, and a numerous garriſon, did not hinder the Chriſtians from ſitting down before it.

THIS city, one of the fineſt in the eaſt, and ever famous for the myſteries of our redemption therein accompliſhed, had undergone ſeveral revolutions. No body can be ignorant of all the horrors of the ſiege laid to it by Titus Veſpaſian, who, without any ſuch deſign, fulfilled the prophecies concerning it. The temple was entirely demoliſhed, even in ſpite of the conqueror himſelf. The emperor Adrian, after deſtroying it a ſecond time, rebuilt it again; but then he made it of leſs compaſs, and changed its name to Ælia, becauſe he himſelf was called Ælius. Jeruſalem recovered its name and its former glory under Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtian emperor. Coſroes, grandſon of another Coſroes, king of Perſia, in the time of the emperor Phocas, laid the Holy City again deſolate; thirty thouſand inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the famous church of St. Sepulchre was deſtroyed. Heraclius, ſucceſſor to Phocas, recovered Jeruſalem, and cauſed the churches to be rebuilt. About the middle of the ſeventh century it was taken, as we obſerved before, by the caliph Omar; and the Saracen Mahometans had been maſters of it for near four hundred years, when the Turcomans drove them thence. The ſultan of Egypt had retaken it during the ſiege of Antioch. That which the princes of the cruſade laid to it laſted only five weeks. Godfrey of Bouillon threw himſelf firſt into the city by means of a wooden tower

which

which he clapped to the walls. The count of Tholouſe, who commanded at another attack, had the ſame advantage; the whole army crowded into the place; they put all that made any reſiſtance to the ſword; and not only ſo, but ſuch alſo as threw down their arms. Above ten thouſand inhabitants, who had been promiſed quarter, were maſſacred afterwards in cold blood; infants were inhumanly butchered at the breaſt, and in the arms of their mother; every thing * ſwam in blood, and the conquerors, tired at laſt with ſlaughter, looked on it themſelves with horror. 1099. July 15.

THIS military rage ceaſed at length, and gave way to more Chriſtian ſentiments. The chieftains, after the neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of their conqueſt, laid aſide their arms, and went barefoot, with their ſoldiers after them, to proſtrate themſelves before the holy ſepulchre. Nothing was to be heard in that ſacred place but ſighs and groans. 'Twas a moving ſpectacle indeed to ſee with what devotion theſe ſoldiers of the cruſade viſited and kiſſed the memorials of our Saviour's ſufferings; and, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, theſe tears and ſentiments of piety came from thoſe very ſoldiers, who but a moment before had abandoned themſelves to the moſt ſhocking cruelties: ſo true it is, that men are often led by principles entirely oppoſite.

THE next day the biſhops and prieſts offered the holy ſacrifice in the churches, to return thanks to God for their happy ſucceſs. They gave immediate advice of it to pope Paſchal II. who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and ordered the day of its reduction to be annually obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival for ever.

FROM the duties of religion, they paſſed next to the cares of government. The princes and lords aſſembled to determine who ſhould be inveſted with the ſovereignty of this conqueſt. Every one, according to his

* Chriſtiani cum paganis quinto bello conſerto, tanta in eos cæde debacchati ſunt, ut in ſanguine occiſorum equitarint uſque ad genua equorum. Sig. Gemblac. p. 611.

his inclination or intereſts, propoſed different perſons to fill that great dignity. Some named Raimond, count of Tholouſe; others Robert duke of Normandy; but at laſt all their votes united in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince ſtill more illuſtrious for his piety than for his ſingular valour. The heads of the cruſade conducted him in a ſolemn manner to the church of the holy ſepulchre, in order to crown him there. But while the ceremony of inauguration was performing, the religious prince refuſed a crown of gold which they offered him, proteſting loudly, that they ſhould never ſee ſo magnificent a crown upon his head, in a place where the Saviour of the world was crowned with one of thorns. He likeways abſolutely refuſed the auguſt name of king, and took only the ſimple title of protector, or defender of the holy ſepulchre.

IN the mean time, the caliph of Egypt's general, knowing nothing of the taking of Jeruſalem, was marching at the head of his army to raiſe the ſiege; but Godfrey prevented him. He advanced to meet him, attacked him on the edge of the deſarts which divide Paleſtine from Egypt, and beat and routed his army. In acknowledgement, and for a memorial of this new victory, he founded a chapter of Latin canons in the church of the holy ſepulchre: he founded alſo another ſome time after in the church of the temple, which ſerved before for a moſque to the infidels, and theſe canons in both churches followed the rule of St. Auguſtin, as cardinal James de Vitri, biſhop of Acre, relates in his hiſtory, an author, who, in reſpect of the affairs of the eaſt, ought to be regarded as the original hiſtorian.

THE prince viſited next the houſe of the hoſpitallers of St. John, the firſt which the Latin Chriſtians ever had in the city of Jeruſalem. He was received there by the pious Gerard, and the other adminiſtrators of the ſame fraternity; and there he found a great number of the ſoldiers of the cruſade, who had been wounded

wounded in the ſiege and carried thither, after the taking of the place: all of them agreed in extolling the great charity of the hoſpitallers, who ſpared no pains for their relief.

THE cardinal de Vitri relates, that the bread of theſe hoſpitallers was made only of bran and the coarſeſt flower, whilſt they reſerved the fineſt part for the ſuſtenance of the ſick and wounded; a circumſtance indeed inconſiderable enough, if any thing can be ſo that proceeds from an eminent fund of charity.

SEVERAL young gentlemen, who had juſt an happy experience of it, renounced all thoughts of returning into their own country, and devoted themſelves in the houſe of St. John to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims. Among the illuſtrious perſons of the cruſade, who took the habit of hoſpitallers, were Raimond, deputy of the province of Dauphiny; Dudon de Comps, of the ſame province; Gaſtus or Caſtus, of the city of Berdeiz; Canon de Montaigu, of the province of Auvergne, and a great number beſides.

THOUGH Godfrey by this means loſt ſome gallant men who had done him great ſervices, he could not but look upon their change with joy, and perhaps with a pious emulation. But if the intereſt and preſervation of Jeruſalem kept him ſtill at the head of the army, he would at leaſt contribute to the ſupport of the houſe of St. John, and therefore annexed to it the lordſhip of Montboire, with all its dependencies, which was formerly part of his own demeſne in Brabant.

MOST of the princes and lords of the cruſade followed his example. The hoſpital was in a little time enriched with a great number of lands and manors, as well in Europe as in Paleſtine. This was in the hands of the pious Gerard, a ſacred truſt and certain fund for the relief of all the diſtreſſed. The holy man was as yet only a mere ſecular adminiſtrator; but after the taking of Jeruſalem, the deſire of greater perfection induced him to propoſe to the brothers and ſiſters of the hoſpital to take a regular habit, and dedicate their life in the hoſpital to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims.

GERARD Rector.

THE brothers and ſiſters of the fraternity of hoſpitallers, by his advice and example, renounced the world, and took the regular habit, which is a plain black robe, having a white linen croſs of eight points faſtened to it on the left ſide near the heart: And the patriarch of Jeruſalem, after firſt clothing them with it, received from them three ſolemn vows of the order, which they made publickly at the foot of the holy ſepulchre.

POPE Paſchal II. ſome years after, confirmed this new inſtitution, exempted the houſe of Jeruſalem, and ſuch as were dependent on it, from the payment of tithes, confirmed all endowments made or to be made in favour of the hoſpital, and granted, by a ſpecial order, that after the death of Gerard, the hoſpitallers ſhould have the ſole right of electing a new ſuperior, without the interpoſition of any power, either ſecular or eccleſiaſtical.

IN the mean time the ſoldiers of the cruſade, having reſcued the Holy City from ſlavery, moſt of them prepared for their return to Europe. Of all that prodigious number that ſet out from thence, and entered Aſia, there ſtaid only with Godfrey two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe that were attached to his fortune, beſides the brave Tancred, who would never abandon him. Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, retired to Edeſſa in Meſopotamia, of which he had made himſelf maſter; Euſtace, another brother of Godfrey's, returned back to France; and Bohemund being made prince of Antioch, fixed his reſidence there.

EVERY one of theſe princes was attended with the lords, gentlemen, officers and ſoldiers, who had come to the Holy Land under their Banner, and in order to keep theſe gallant gentlemen with them, they procured them conſiderable ſettlements in their territories, as a teſtimony and recompenſe of their valour; and theſe ſeveral principalities may be ſaid to be all inhabited by a nation of conquerors.

THE reſt of the cruſade, whom the love of their country called back into Europe, returning home, publiſhed

ed their conquests, and the wonders God had vouchsafed to work by their arms. There is no expressing the transport of the people, and the effect this extraordinary news had upon their minds. Of all the nations of christendom, and of all professions indifferently, there were forming continually as it were new brigades of pilgrims, who quitted their all to have the satisfaction of seeing the Holy City delivered from the tyranny of the infidels. They were entertained in the house of St. John, and found there a certain, and even an agreeable subsistence.

THIS flux and reflux of pilgrims, all of whom carried back into their country testimonies of the charity of the hospitallers, occasioned them new benefactions from most of the princes of the west; so that there was scarce a province in Christendom, where the house of St. John had not large estates, and very considerable settlements.

IT was not long before the pious Gerard caused a magnificent temple to be erected in honour of St. John the Baptist, and in a place which, according to ancient tradition, had served for a retreat to Zacharias, father to that great saint. Near this church were built various apartments and vast buildings, some for the hospitallers to dwell in, and others to entertain the pilgrims, and lodge the poor and sick. The hospitallers treated them all with equal charity; they washed with pleasure the feet of the pilgrims, dressed the sores of the wounded, and attended the sick, whilst the holy priests belonging to the house administred to them the sacraments of the church.

THE zeal of the hospitallers was not confined within the city or territory of Jerusalem; the head and superior of this growing society extended his cares even into the west: Out of the estates, which he possessed by the liberality of Christian princes, he founded hospitals in the principal maritime provinces of Europe; and these houses, which were a sort of daughters to that of Jerusalem, and may be looked upon as the first commanderies of this order, served to collect the pil-

grims in a body, who had devoted themselves to the voyage of the Holy Land. Care was there taken for their embarkation; they found ships, guides and convoys; at the same time that other care was taken of such as fell sick, and were not in a condition to continue so long a voyage.

SUCH were the houses of St. Giles in Provence, Seville in Andalusia, of Tarento in Apulia, Messina in Sicily, and abundance of others, which pope Paschal II. took afterwards, like that of Jerusalem, under the particular protection of the holy see, and which his successors honoured with various privileges.

WHILST this new order was thus recommending itself no less in Europe than in Asia, Godfrey of Bouillon, to reduce a confused military government to some form and regularity, called a kind of assembly of the estates of the kingdom, where he enacted new laws, the collection of which, commonly called the assize of Jerusalem, was signed by that prince, and sealed with his coat of arms; and because this collection was lodged in the church of the holy sepulchre, it was generally called the writings of the holy sepulchre. The prince, after cares so worthy of a sovereign, took the field again, and made himself master of Tiberias, and the other towns situated on the lake of Gennesareth, and of the greatest part of Galilee, the government of which he gave to Tancred.

GODFREY would have reduced all Palestine, if a contagious sickness had not stopped the progress of his arms. He died with the same sentiments of piety that had brought him to the Holy Land; and by his death the Sarazens were rid of a formidable enemy, and the Christians lost a noble champion and great commander. He left two brothers behind him, whose names were Eustace and Baldwin; but as the eldest was returned into Europe, the younger, then count of Edessa, was sent for to succeed him; and this prince, before he went to Jerusalem, resigned that large territory to the count du Bourg his cousin.

1100. July 18.

BALDWIN

BALDWIN aſſumed the majeſtick title of king, which Godfrey of Bouillon, out of a ſpirit of piety, had refuſed to accept. Baldwin was not perhaps inferior to his brother in valour; but his courage was not ſupported by an equal capacity in the conduct of an army. He was more a ſoldier than a general, and not very ſcrupulous in converſing with women; which laſt was the principal failing of this new ſucceſſor of David.

THIS prince, who is reckoned the firſt king of Jeruſalem, was in war all his reign, and engaged with various ſucceſs, often victorious, ſometimes beaten, but never diſcouraged from fighting. After a defeat, he returned the next day to attack the infidels, and never let either his own ſoldiers or his enemies reſt; he beſieged and took Ptolemais or Acre, a famous city and harbour.

DURING his reign the city of Tripoli in Syria, after a ſiege of four years, ſurrendered to Sourdain nephew to Raimond, count of Tholouſe, who delivered it up afterwards to Bertrand, the count's natural ſon. The king on his ſide took Sidon and Berytus; and all the places along the coaſt yielded to the force of his arms, except Tyre alone, which he was deſigning to beſiege; when after a reign of eighteen years, a dyſentery, occaſioned by the fatigues of war, carried him to his grave. 1101. 1118.

BALDWIN du Bourg, or Baldwin II. his couſin, count of Edeſſa, ſucceeded him in the crown of Jeruſalem, as he had done before in that county, which he reſigned likeways in his turn to Joſceline de Courtenay his kinſman. Baldwin, following the ſteps of the two princes his predeceſſors, thought only of preſerving by new conqueſts the crown which they had acquired for him. But whilſt this prince by his valour kept the infidels at a diſtance from the capital of Judea, the hoſpitallers loſt the bleſſed Gerard, the father of the poor and pilgrims. That virtuous man, after having arrived to an exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren, almoſt without 1118.

out any ſickneſs, and fell, as we may ſay, like a fruit ripe for eternity.

RAIMOND DUPUY first military Grand-maſter.

THE hoſpitallers aſſembled after his death to chuſe him a ſucceſſor, purſuant to the bull of pope Paſchal II. There was no diviſion upon the point; all their votes united in favour of brother Raimond Dupuy, a gentleman of the Province of Dauphiny, of an illuſtrious houſe, which after ſo many ages, is ſtill ſubſiſting at this day under the name of Dupuy Montbrun.

THE bleſſed Gerard, to engage the hoſpitallers in the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims, contented himſelf with inſpiring into them ſentiments of charity and humility. His ſucceſſor thought it neceſſary to enforce the duty by particular ſtatutes; and with the conſent of the whole chapter, drew them up in ſuch a manner, that they ſeemed to have been made only to ſecure in that holy houſe a more ſure and ſtrict obſervance of the ſolemn vows of their profeſſion.

THE new maſter of the hoſpitallers formed a deſign of adding to theſe and the duties of hoſpitality, an obligation to take up arms for the defence of the holy places; and he reſolved to draw out of his houſe a military body, and a ſort of a perpetual cruſade, who were to be ſubject to the orders of the kings of Jeruſalem, and to make a particular profeſſion of fighting againſt the infidels.

FOR the clearing up of a fact ſo important to the Order whoſe hiſtory we write, it muſt be obſerved, that what was called at that time the kingdom of Jeruſalem, conſiſted only of that capital, and ſome other cities, ſeparated for the moſt part by places ſtill in poſſeſſion of the infidels, ſo that the Latins could not paſs from one to the other without danger, or a large guard. The country too about theſe Chriſtian towns was ſtill inhabited by Mahometan peaſants, who looking on the Chriſtians as enemies to their religion, aſſaſſinated and robbed them, whenever they could ſurprize them with advantage and without danger of diſcovery. The Latins were ſcarce more ſecure in the boroughs and towns that

that were not walled; robbers entered them by night and cut the throats of the inhabitants; and what was yet more grievous, this little ſtate was ſtill in a manner beſieged on all ſides, either by the Turcomans or by the Sarazens of Egypt, two formidable powers, who, without acting in concert, had yet neither of them any other view but to drive the Chriſtians out of Syria and Paleſtine. Thus were the Latins obliged to maintain an almoſt continual war: and in the winter ſeaſon, when the armies were no longer able to keep the field, different parties of infidels were perpetually haraſſing the country; deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword, maſſacring the men, and carrying the women and children away into an odious ſlavery.

THE maſter of the hoſpital, touched with theſe calamities, and ſeeing himſelf at the head of a great body of hoſpitallers, formed the moſt noble, and withal the moſt extraordinary deſign, that ever entered into the mind of a monk, tied down by his profeſſion to the ſervice of the poor and ſick.

GOD, who had inſpired Raimond with this noble project, had given him all the qualities proper to make it ſucceed; an illuſtrious birth, exalted ſentiments, large and extended views, and an ardent zeal, which made him wiſh for an opportunity of ſacrificing his own life to ſave that of a Chriſtian.

HE was every moment repreſenting to himſelf the great number of the inhabitants of Paleſtine ſurprized and murdered by the infidels, others of them groaning in irons, the women and virgins expoſed to the brutality of robbers, and the debauches of theſe barbarians, yet more inſupportable than their cruelties; in a word, the Chriſtians in general, either to avoid torments, or to ſave their life or honour, expoſed to the temptation of renouncing Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe diſmal reflections, and the deſire of preſerving to the Saviour of the world, the ſouls which he had purchaſed with his blood, continually perplexed the maſter of the hoſpital: it was the ordinary ſubject of his meditations,

ons. He conſulted every day at the foot of the altar the author and inſpirer of this pious deſign. Preſſed at laſt by a particular call, he ſummoned a chapter, and propoſed to his brethren of the order, to reſume, as being ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, the arms which moſt of them had quitted to ſerve him in the perſon of the poor, and in the hoſpital of St. John.

RAIMOND owed his dignity merely to the luſtre of his virtues: his friars looked upon this propoſal as a new inſtance of his zeal; and though it appeared not very compatible with their firſt engagement, and the functions of hoſpitality, yet the laudable deſire of defending the holy places made them look over the difficulties that might ariſe in the exerciſe of two ſo different profeſſions. The hoſpitallers, moſt of them the companions or ſoldiers of Godfrey de Bouillon, generouſly reſumed their arms with the patriarch's permiſſion. However, they agreed never to make uſe of them but againſt the infidels; and it was reſolved, that without abandoning their firſt engagements, or the care of ſuch as were ſick or in poverty, part of theſe monks ſhould be ready to mount on horſeback whenever there was occaſion, to oppoſe the incurſions of the infidels. Beſides, the order was by this time rich and powerful enough to hire forces upon preſſing occaſions: and it was afterwards by this ſuccour that they ſupported with ſo much bravery the tottering throne of the kings of Jeruſalem.

RAIMOND, having brought his brethren of the order into his project, is ſaid to have diſtributed the whole body of the hoſpitallers into three claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of gentlemen of birth, who formerly held rank in the army; theſe were appointed to bear arms. In the ſecond claſs were the prieſts and chaplains, who, beſides the ordinary functions of their character, either in the church or in attendance upon the ſick, were likeways obliged to ſerve by turns as chaplains in the camp: and as to ſuch as were neither of noble families, nor eccleſiaſticks, they were called freres ſervans, i. e. ſerving brothers, from the office aſſigned them by the knights,

knights, as well with regard to the ſick as in the army; and they were diſtinguiſhed afterwards by a coat of arms differing in colour from that of the knights. Nothwithſtanding this diſtinction, all theſe monks formed but one body, and ſhared equally in moſt of the rights and privileges of the order.

As this new order multiplied exceedingly in a little time, and moſt of the young gentry flocked from different parts of Europe to enrol themſelves under its banner, they made a new diſtinction according to the country and nation of each knight, and divided them into ſeven languages, viz. theſe of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany and England. This diviſion is at this day ſtill ſubſiſting in the ſame manner, excepting that in the firſt ages of the order, the priories, bailiwicks and commanderies were common to all the knights indifferently; whereas thoſe dignities have been ſince annexed to each particular language and nation. The Engliſh are no longer reckoned among theſe languages, ſince hereſy has infected that kingdom; and to that of Arragon they have added the languages of Caſtile and Portugal.

THE regular habit conſiſted of a black robe with a pointed mantle of the ſame colour, upon which was ſowed a pointed cowl. This ſort of garment was called manteau a bec, and had upon the left ſide a croſs of white linen with eight points; a dreſs which in thoſe firſt times was, as well as the name of hoſpitallers, common to all the monks of the order.

BUT after theſe hoſpitallers had taken upon them the military badge, perſons of high birth being out of an idle punctilio ſhy of entering into an order where they were blended with ſerving brothers, Alexander IV. to remove this obſtacle, thought fit to ſettle a proper diſtinction between the ſerving brothers and the knights. With this view, he ordered, that for the future none but the latter ſhould wear in the houſe the black mantle, and in the camp a ſopra veſte, or coat of arms with a white croſs upon a red field like the arms upon the ſtandard of the order, which are Gueules

les à la croix pleine d'argent; and by a particular ſtatute it was provided, that ſuch knights, as ſhould in battle deſert their rank and fly, ſhould be deprived of the habit and croſs of the order.

THE form of government in this order ſeems to have been at that time, as it is now, purely ariſtocratical. The ſupreme authority was veſted in the council, of which the maſter of the hoſpitallers was preſident, and as ſuch, he had two votes in caſe of a diviſion. This council had the management of the great eſtates poſſeſſed by the order both in Aſia and Europe.

To take care of theſe eſtates, they ſent thither ſome old hoſpitallers with the title of preceptors, whoſe commiſſion laſted only ſo long as the maſter and council thought fit; ſo that theſe preceptors were looked upon at that time only as ſtewards and mere adminiſtrators of part of the eſtate of the order, for which they were accountable to the treaſury.

'TWAS from theſe funds, which were every day improving by a wiſe œconomy, that they furniſhed the neceſſary ſuccours for maintenance of the houſe of Jeruſalem, and particularly for the charges of the war, and the pay of ſuch ſecular ſoldiers as the order took into their ſervice.

ALMOST all theſe revenues were remitted from the weſt to Paleſtine, the preceptors reſerving but a very ſmall part for their own ſubſiſtence. Thoſe true friars obſerved the ſame auſterity under the privileges of their commiſſion as in the convent. They lived in a collegiate way, many together, and formed a ſociety. Charity to the poor and pilgrims diſtinguiſhed itſelf as much in theſe particular houſes, as in the head of the order, and in the hoſpital of St John. Their purity of life was no leſs remarkable than their diſintereſted temper of not appropriating any thing to themſelves; and after the order had taken up arms in the eaſt againſt the Sarazens and Turcomans, the hoſpitallers, who were in the weſt, and in the houſes of the order, to act agreeably to their profeſſion, and diſcharge the obligations they lay under, never failed in their turn, and purſuant

purſuant to the orders they received from the maſter, to repair either to the army of Paleſtine, or to thoſe that were ſent againſt the Moors in Spain, and afterwards againſt the Albigenſes in France. But none of them were ever known to engage in the wars raiſed between Chriſtian princes. A knight hoſpitaller was only a ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt; and when the intereſts of religion did not oblige him to take up arms, he was never ſeen employed but in the care of the poor and ſick: this was the ſpirit of the order, and the uniform practice of all the hoſpitallers.

RAIMOND DUPUY having got his deſign approved by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, his natural ſuperior, and having received his bleſſing, went at the head of his bethren, all armed, to offer their ſervice to Baldwin du Bourg, the ſecond king of Jeruſalem. That prince was agreeably ſurprized at it, and looked upon that body of gentlemen, as a ſuccour ſent him from heaven.

'TIS aſtoniſhing that none of the hiſtorians of that time take any notice of the year in which theſe hoſpitallers had recourſe to arms, and that thoſe writers have kept the ſame ſilence with regard to their exploits, or at leaſt have ſpoken of them only by the by, and very ſuperficially. However, we learn from a bull of pope Innocent II. bearing date A. D. 1130, that they talked of nothing in all Europe but of the important ſervices done the kings of Jeruſalem by the hoſpitallers againſt the infidels; which ſuppoſes, that they had been ſome time before in arms; and yet there is no carrying the epocha we are in ſearch of higher than A. D. 1118, when Raimond Dupuy was dignified with the maſterſhip of this new militia.

THE king of Jeruſalem had great need of this ſuccour: he was obliged to defend againſt formidable enemies, as well his own kingdom, as the counties of Edeſſa and Tripoli which held of it, without reckoning the principality of Antioch, which was united in one common intereſt with the crown of Jeruſalem, though

though the princes of Antioch pretended to be independent of it.

THE county of Edeſſa comprehended almoſt all Meſopotamia, and extended itſelf between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Baldwin I. had made a conqueſt of it, and, after his acceſſion to the throne of Jeruſalem, had reſigned it to Baldwin du Bourg his couſin, who in like manner, upon his advancement to the crown of Jeruſalem, inveſted his kinſman Joſceline de Courtenay with his county. The county of Tripoli comprehended ſeveral places ſituated along the ſea of Phœnicia, from Maraclea as far as the river Adonis,[a] where began what was then called the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which ſoon extended its frontiers as far as the deſart which divides Paleſtine from Egypt. Bertrand, ſon of Raimond count of Tholouſe, was count of Tripoli; and Bohemund II. prince of Antioch, had ſucceeded the famous Bohemund his father, who died in Apulia on his return from France, where he had married the princeſs Conſtance, daughter of Philip I. king of France.

BOHEMUND II. the iſſue of this marriage was firſt put under the guardianſhip of the brave Tancred his couſin; but that prince dying ſoon after, the regency was conferred upon Roger, ſon of Richard, of the ſame houſe, a prince of great valour, but ambitious, and who having the ſovereign authority only in truſt, gave reaſon from his conduct to ſuſpect, that he aſpired to the principality itſelf.

WHILST Roger, guardian to young Bohemund, governed this great principality, Gaſi, 1119
one of the Turcoman princes, Dol de Kuvin of the ſame nation, king of Damaſcus, and Debeis chief of a powerful tribe among the Mahometan Arabians, joined their forces to drive all the Latin Chriſtians out of Syria. Theſe infidels entered the territories of the principality at the head of a formidable army, carried ſeveral ſmall towns, and put all to fire and ſword in the country. The regent, ſurpriſed at this

[a] Thamiras.

this invaſion, ſent immediately to give advice of it to the king of Jeruſalem, to Joſceline de Courtenay, lord of Edeſſa, and to Ponce count of Tripoli, and ſucceſſor to count Bertrand. All theſe princes ſent him word, that they would advance without loſs of time to his ſuccour. Roger, in expectation of their coming up, threw himſelf into the city of Antioch with what troops he had, and at the ſame time cauſed the inhabitants to arm. The infidels, not caring to engage in a ſiege, which they foreſaw muſt be long and bloody, endeavoured to draw the regent out of the town by ravaging the country. And accordingly Roger, who from his palace ſaw with anguiſh the villages in a flame, could no longer govern his reſentment, but tranſported with courage, ſallied out of the city; and, contrary to the advice of his principal officers, advanced againſt the enemy. His whole force was but about ſeven hundred horſe and three thouſand foot; yet with this handful of troops, and without ſo much as conſidering the forces of his enemies, he ventured to attack them. The Turcomans to flatter his confidence gave way at firſt, feigned a retreat, and drew him inſenſibly into an ambuſcade. He then ſaw himſelf ſurrounded in a moment; a multitude of Barbarians fell upon him from all ſides. In vain did the Chriſtian prince endeavour to open himſelf a way through the ſquadrons of the infidels; what effort ſoever he could make, his troops, overwhelmed with numbers, were cut in pieces, and the regent's precipitation coſt him his life and the greateſt part of his little army.

THE victorious infidels, flattering themſelves that they ſhould gain as eaſy a triumph over the troops which the king was bringing up, marched to ſurprize him. They had no difficulty to meet with an enemy that ſought them; both armies came in ſight, even before their commanders expected it; there was a neceſſity of engaging. This was the firſt occaſion upon which the knights of St. John ſignalized their zeal againſt the infidels. The action was long and bloody; they fought on both ſides with that averſion, which is

uſually ſeen between nations that are enemies, and of different religions. Baldwin, a prince full of courage, at the head of his nobles, and followed by Raimond and the hoſpitallers, throws himſelf into the midſt of the thickeſt battalions; he puſhes, preſſes and breaks through every thing that oppoſes him. The ſoldiers, animated by his example, follow the way that he had opened for them; they enter ſword in hand into thoſe ſhrinking battalions, and, in ſpite of all reſiſtance, force them to ſeek for ſafety in flying. In vain did the emirs uſe menaces to rally them, whatever they could do, their whole force disbanded, and the terrified ſoldiers ſhewed manifeſtly, that in a rout they fear nothing but the enemy and death.

THE king of Jeruſalem entered victorious into Antioch, where he regulated every thing that related to the defence of the place, and the civil government; and leaving a ſtrong garriſon in it, return'd to Jeruſalem, where he was received by his ſubjects with that applauſe which always attends a favourable fortune.

THIS prince thought of nothing now but enjoying a little reſt, as the moſt agreeable fruit of his victory, when he heard that Joſceline de Courtenay, count of Edeſſa, had been ſurprized in an ambuſcade by Balac, one of the moſt powerful emirs of the Turco-
1122. mans, and was taken priſoner by that infidel prince. Baldwin, for fear the emir ſhould take advantage of Courtenay's misfortune, and beſiege Edeſſa, ſet out immediately with what troops he had, made great marches, croſſed the Jordan, and advanced into the country. But going in perſon to reconnoitre the camp of the infidels, whether he was betrayed, or too much expoſed, he ſaw himſelf in a moment ſurrounded by a party ſuperior to his guard; which being cut in pieces before his face, he was obliged, with Galleran his couſin, to ſurrender himſelf to the enemy, and undergo the ſame fate with the prince of Edeſſa.

'TIS impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of Baldwin's troops, when they heard of his captivity: a great

number

number of the ſoldiers, as if the war had been at an end, or becauſe they deſpaired of being able to reſiſt the infidels, disbanded themſelves. The hoſpitallers, in conjunction with what troops remained, unable to keep the field or ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, threw themſelves into Edeſſa and other places of that county, which they preſerved for Courtenay.

THE caliph of Egypt, to make his advantage of the king of Jeruſalem's misfortune, cauſed 1123. one of his generals to enter Judea on that ſide next Aſcalon: the general advanced to Jaffa, and inveſted it by land, whilſt a fleet of the ſame nation blocked up the place by ſea.

IN ſo melancholy a juncture, it could not be imagined that the Latins could at one and the ſame time make head againſt the Turcomans and Sarazens, who attacked them on different ſides. The Sarazens had formed the ſiege of Jaffa both by land and ſea. Euſtace Garnier, lord of Sydon or Scyde, and Ceſarea, and conſtable of Paleſtine, though in an age far advanced, gathered a body of about ſeven thouſand men, which made the main forces of that little ſtate, and with what knights he could muſter in the houſe of Jeruſalem, marched directly againſt the enemy. He made ſuch expedition, that he ſurprized them, forced their lines, and cut in pieces all thoſe that in the confuſion were unable to recover their veſſels, their fleet having ſtood off to ſea, and ſailed towards Alexandria. The Chriſtian general, upon advice that the garriſon of Aſcalon was ravaging the country, without allowing his ſoldiers any time to reſt, led them immediately up thither. He found part of the ſoldiers of the garriſon diſperſed and buſy in pillaging. The conſtable, at the head of his troops, fell upon theſe pillagers, who were off their guard, killed all that endeavoured to rally, took a great number of priſoners, and none eſcaped but a few that were fortunate enough to get back into Aſcalon.

THESE two victories were ſoon followed by a third, and by a new diſaſter for the Sarazens. We have ob-

ſerved that their ſhips, upon the defeat of their land army, had ſet ſail. Theſe ſhips in their retreat, as they were ſailing off the coaſt of Aſcalon, fell in with a fleet of Venetians, commanded by the noble Henry Michieli, duke or doge of Venice, who, after an obſtinate engagement, ſunk part of them, and made himſelf maſter of the reſt.

WILLIAM des Barres, lord of Tiberias, had juſt ſucceeded count Garnier, who died during this expedition, in the command of the land army. The new general ſent to congratulate the doge of Venice upon the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and propoſed an interview. The Venetian fleet entered into the port of Jaffa; others ſay into that of Acre or Ptolemais. The duke was received there with all the honours and marks of acknowledgment, that were due to ſo important a victory. They loaded his chief officers with preſents; the fleet received refreſhments and proviſions in abundance, and the duke went to pay his devotions at Jeruſalem, where he paſſed the Chriſtmaſs. The patriarch of that city, Desbarres, and the principal lords of the country, laying hold of the opportunity, while he was thus pioully diſpoſed, made a propoſal to Michieli, of blocking up the port of Tyre with his fleet, whilſt the land army beſieged the place. The enterprize was great and very difficult to be executed, yet Desbarres made him ſenſible of the importance and uſefulneſs of his project.

BUT as the Venetian was not to be ſatisfied with a barren glory, and aggravated the charges of the enterprize, he declared, that if the ſucceſs of their arms was favourable, he inſiſted on ſharing the conqueſt with the king of Jeruſalem, and to have a moiety of it in entire ſovereignty. He did not ſtick here; but as he knew they could not do without his fleet, he demanded for the Venetians a church, a ſtreet, [a] a common oven, baths, and a particular exerciſe of juriſdiction in Jeruſalem, and in all towns depending on that kingdom.

[a] *Four banal* ſignifies a common oven for all the inhabitants of the juriſdiction wherein it ſtands. Cotgrave.

kingdom. This was in a manner to ſhare the ſovereignty of it: but as after all it was of the laſt conſequence to the Chriſtians of Paleſtine to drive the infidels out of Tyre, and there was no doing without a fleet for a ſiege of that importance, they agreed, after ſeveral conferences, that the Venetians ſhould have a third part of the city. They even complied with moſt of the other conditions, hard and extraordinary as they were, and ſigned a treaty, which would have been ſcandalous, if it had not been in a manner neceſſary. Among the names of the prelates and principal lords of the kingdom which ſubſcribed the treaty, we do not find that of Raimond Dupuy, whether he ſtaid at Edeſſa for defence of the county, or did not care to ſubſcribe a treaty which entrenched on the ſovereignty of the king. However this be, the treaty was no ſooner ſigned than every thing was in motion. The fleet on one ſide, and the land army on the other, came before Tyre, and begirt the place cloſe. They opened the trenches, the ſiege was long and bloody, and the hoſpitallers acquired a great deal of glory in different attacks; in fine, the beſieged preſſed at the ſame time by ſea and land, and ſeeing no hope of ſuccour, deſired to capitulate. The conditions were agreed on, and the treaty executed punctually on both ſides, as was alſo that with the Venetians; and in concert with their doge, they eſtabliſhed afterwards in the city an Archbiſhop, named William, by nation an Engliſhman, and prior of the holy ſepulchre, who was conſecrated by Guarimond, patriarch of Jeruſalem. 1124. July 30.

DURING the ſiege of Tyre, Joſceline de Courtenay, eſcaping out of Balac's priſon, came back to his dominions, muſtered up all the force he could, brought a ſmall body of an army into the field, marched againſt his enemy, gave him battle, and killed him with his own hand. This victory, and the emir's death, were the occaſion of the king of Jeruſalem's liberty[a]. Balac's widow, either affected with the merit of her

E 3. priſon-

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 13. c. 26.

priſoner, or afraid that he ſhould make his eſcape, and ſhe loſe his ranſom, made a truce with him, and fixed a price for his liberty. Baldwin agreed to pay her an hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver money, of what they called Michelins: he paid half of it down, and for the reſt he gave her in hoſtage one of the princeſſes his daughters, that was five years old.

THIS prince's return into his dominions
1124. brought joy, and afterwards plenty thither.

Baldwin, convinced that the true riches of a ſovereign conſiſts in the wealth of his ſubjects, publiſhed a general ſafe conduct for all perſons, of what religion and party ſoever they were, that ſhould bring corn and merchandize into his ports, with an exemption from all cuſtoms. This liberty drew thither merchants from all nations, re-eſtabliſhed commerce, and rendered this prince at the ſame time more powerful and formidable to his neighbours.

BORSEQUIN and Doldekuvin, theſe two Turcoman princes, always raging againſt the Chriſtians, made freſh incurſions into the principality of Antioch. That ſtate, though a ſovereign one, was, during the minority of young Bohemund, under the protection of the king of Jeruſalem. Baldwin, on the firſt news of this enterpriſe of the infidels, took the field, and marched with ſo much ſecrecy and expedition, that he ſurprized the enemy, forced their camp, and took ſo great a number of priſoners, that their ranſom ſerved to redeem the princeſs his daughter, whom he had given in hoſtage to Balac's widow. From Syria he marched back into Paleſtine, where he repreſſed the incurſions of the garriſon of Aſcalon, which raiſed contributions as far as the gates of Jaffa.

THIS prince opened the following compaigne with a new victory, which he gained over Doldekuvin. It was followed by the taking of Rapha, a ſtrong place in the county of Tripoli. The hoſpitallers attended the king in all theſe expeditions, but no body acquired more glory than Fulk, count of Anjou, one of the greateſt ſoldiers of the age. The pilgrimage of Jeruſalem

ſalem, ſo uſual at that time, had brought into the Holy Land: he was ſon of Fulk, ſurnamed le Rechin, or the ill humoured, and of Bertrade de Monfort, afterwards wife or concubine to Philip I. king of France.

THIS Fulk had married Eremburge, only daughter of Helie count of Maine, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters. The count and counteſs lived very happily together, till death parted them. The counteſs died, and the earl, full of grief for her loſs, travelled to the Holy Land, where for a year he maintained an hundred knights at his own expence. This prince at their head ſignalized himſelf on various occaſions againſt the infidels. Time having wrought its ordinary effect upon grief, and the term he had fixed for his pilgrimage being expired, he was ſeized with an impatience of returning into his own dominions. King Baldwin, who had been witneſs of his valour, could not ſee him in this diſpoſition without great concern; and therefore to keep him if poſſible, and engage him more particularly in the defence of the Holy Land, he offered him the princeſs Meleſinda his eldeſt daughter in marriage, with the promiſe of appointing him his ſucceſſor and making him be acknowledged as ſuch; and to leave him no manner of uneaſineſs on account of the princeſs Alice his ſecond daughter, he married her to young Bohemund prince of Antioch. Fulk accepted the king's propoſal with great ſatisfaction; but the care he owed to his children obliged him before he married to take a voyage into France. He ſet out ſome time after- 1126.
wards, leaving the king and all his court in much grief for his abſence, and impatient of his return. The departure of this prince was luckily recompenſed by a new and unexpected ſuccour, which a zeal like that of the hoſpitallers produced in fa- 1128.
vour of the pilgrims and Chriſtians of Paleſtine.

HUGH de Payens, Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and ſeven other gentlemen, all Frenchmen, whoſe names are not preſerved in hiſtory, moved with the dangers to which pilgrims were expoſed in going to Jeruſalem

and

and coming from it, formed among them a little ſociety, to ſerve as a guard to conduct and bring them back afterwards beyond the defiles of the mountains and the paſſages of greateſt danger. 'Twas at firſt only a meer aſſociation of ſome private perſons, who, without obliging themſelves to any rule, or taking the monaſtick habit, went to meet the pilgrims, when they were requeſted to do ſo. Brompton, [a] an hiſtorian almoſt cotemporary with them, relates, that in his time, theſe gentlemen were ſuppoſed to be pupils of the hoſpitallers, and to have ſubſiſted ſeveral years only by relief from them. They retired into an houſe near the temple, which occaſioned their having afterwards the name of Templars, or knights of the temple. [b] The king of Jeruſalem having made choice of [c] Hugh de Payens, to ſend him to Rome to ſollicite for ſuccour, and if poſſible a new cruſade; this pious gentleman, after acquitting himſelf worthily of his commiſſion to pope Honorious II. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, preſented his aſſociates to him, entertained him with their zeal for the ſecurity of pilgrims, and deſired his permiſſion to form a religious and military order, in imitation of that of the hoſpitallers.

THE ſovereign pontiff referred them to the fathers of the council which was then ſitting at Troyes in Champagne. Hugh and his companions went thither, and he that ſpoke in their name laid before the aſſembly their vocation, and the project they had formed of taking a religious habit, and founding a military order, which ſhould devote itſelf to the defence of the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who ſhould travel thither. The fathers approved the holy undertaking, and referred the care of preſcribing a rule and form of regular habit for this infant order to St. Bernard, who was preſent at the council. We have the rule ſtill remaining, or at leaſt an extract of it, in which, among other articles, St. Bernard ordered them, inſtead of prayers,

[a] Chronic. Joan. Brompton. hiſt. Ang. ſcrip. p. 1008. Edit. Land. 1652. [b] See Guil. Tyr. 1118 l. 12. c. 11. p. 891.
[c] Jac. Vitr. c. 64.

prayers and offices, to ſay over every day a certain number of pater noſters; which would make one imagine, that theſe warriors at that time knew not how to read. Another ſtatute requires, that they ſhould not eat fleſh above three days in a week; but then it allows them three diſhes on days of abſtinence. The holy abbot, with regard to their military ſervice, declared, that each templar might have one eſquire, or ſerving brother at arms, and three ſaddle horſes[a]: but he forbade all gilding and ſuperfluous ornaments in their equipage. He ordered that their habits ſhould be white, and as a mark of their profeſſion, pope Eugenius III. added afterwards a red croſs placed over the heart.

HUGH and his companions having obtained the council's approbation, returned to Rome, to get both the rule of their order, and the order itſelf, eſtabliſhed by the pope's authority; which being effected, they prepared to return to the eaſt; but before their departure, a great number of gentlemen of the beſt families in France, Germany and Italy, preſented themſelves to enter into their order. Hugh, who was the head of it, gave them the religious habit, which he had taken himſelf, and with this fine body of youth, he arrived in Paleſtine. This new militia increaſed conſiderably in a ſhort time; princes of ſovereign houſes, and lords of the moſt illuſtrious families in Chriſtendom, were eager to fight under the habit and banner of the templars. Out of a falſe nicety and punctilio, which ſcarce ever leaves great men, even at their devotions, this profeſſion, which was altogether military, was often preferred to the troubleſome and humbling ſervices which the hoſpitallers, though ſoldiers, rendered to the poor and ſick. Theſe princes and lords, entering into the order of the templars, brought immenſe riches to it; beſides, the very fame of their exploits procured them vaſt benefactions; and Brompton, whom we have juſt mentioned, adds, that this growing ſociety, this daugh-

ter

[a] Solum autem armigerum ſingulis militibus eadem cauſa concedimus.

ter of the house of St. John, became in a short time so rich and powerful, that the daughter, says he, eclipsed her mother, and looked as if she would bury her in obscurity *. But whether that which this antient historian advances be true or not, it must be owned, that the two orders were the surest supports of Jerusalem; that Baldwin and the kings his successors, as we shall see hereafter, never undertook any thing considerable without the assistance of their arms; that the superiors too of the order had often a great share in the government; so that to relate the various events of that monarchy, is in a manner to write the history of these two orders.

THE king, though he had not succeeded in his application for a crusade, yet saw with pleasure, instead of it, these recruits as it were of gentry and nobility arriving every day from Europe to enrol themselves in one or other of these orders; but nothing gave him more satisfaction than the return of the count of Anjou, who having provided for the settlement of his children, and appointed their portions, came back into the east at the head of a great body of gentlemen his vassals, married the princess Melesinda the king's eldest daughter, and was jointly with her acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown.

WHILST the court was entirely taken up with feasts and diversions, the king received with great surprise and concern the news of young Bohemund his other son in law's being killed in an engagement against the infidels; and that there was reason to fear, the capital of the principality, now left without a sovereign, would be besieged by these barbarians. Bohemund left no other issue of his marriage with Alice but an infant princess named Constance.

THE king her grandfather set out with all expedition to take upon him the regency of her dominions; but upon

* Hi namque, secundum quosdam, ex infimis hospitaliorum congregati, et ex reliquiis eorum, ex cibis et armis sustentati, ad tantam rerum opulentiam devenerunt, ut filia ditata matrem suffocare et supergredi videretur. Chronicon Jean. Brompton. hist. angl. script. p. 1008. Ed. Lond. 1652.

upon his arrival at Antioch, he was ſurpriſed to find the gates ſhut, and eſpecially when he heard, that it was by the order of the princeſs dowager his own daughter. This haughty and ambitious princeſs, vexed and jealous that her father had diſpoſed of the crown of Jeruſalem entirely to her ſiſter, without giving her any ſhare of it, was reſolved to eſtabliſh her own authority in the city of Antioch, as mother and guardian of young Conſtance, and perhaps to ſeize upon the principality, in order to marry again afterwards with greater advantage for herſelf, and to the prejudice of her daughter. But the moſt diſcerning of the inhabitants, knowing the need they had of the king's aſſiſtance againſt the continual invaſions of the Turcomans, ſecretly, without the knowledge of princeſs dowager, introduced the king her father by night into the place [a]. Baldwin exerted his authority there, put a governor into the place, whoſe fidelity 1131. he was well aſſured of, obliged the princeſs dowager, though his daughter, to depart thence and retire to Laodicea, which was aſſigned her for her dowry, and ſettling every thing in good order in the principality, returned to his own dominions.

SCARCE was he arrived at Jeruſalem but he was ſeized with a violent illneſs, occaſioned in all appearance by the vexation which his daughter's ambitious deſigns gave him; and being ſenſible that he was near his end, he again declared the count of Anjou, and the princeſs Meleſinda his eldeſt daughter, for his ſucceſſors in the throne of Jeruſalem. He recommended to them the intereſts of young Conſtance, and the preſervation of her principality, which ſerved for a bulwark to the kingdom of Jeruſalem on that ſide next Syria. This prince expired preſently after, and the real grief and ſincere tears of his ſubjects, ſhewed the greatneſs as well of the affection they bore him, as of the loſs they had ſuffered by his death.

THE count and counteſs of Anjou were crowned with great ſolemnity, and received letters afterwards from pope

[a] Wil. Tyr. l. 13.

pope Innocent II. who having congratulated them on their acceſſion to the crown, exhorted them in the moſt moving terms, to take all poſſible care for the defence of the Holy Land, and the preſervation of a ſtate of ſuch conſequence to all chriſtendom. The holy pontiff, who well knew that the hoſpitallers were the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the throne of Jeruſalem, had publiſhed a little before a bull, in form of a conſtitution, addreſſed to the archbiſhops, biſhops, and all the prelates of the church univerſal; wherein, among other articles, after an encomium on the charity exerciſed by the hoſpitallers, at their own expence, towards the ſick and pilgrims, he paſſes to the important ſervices which they had rendered to chriſtianity by their arms: "The "hoſpitallers, ſays the pope, make no difficulty to "expoſe daily their own lives to defend thoſe of their "brethren; they are the firmeſt ſupport of the chriſti"an church in the eaſt, and are fighting every day "with diſtinguiſhed courage againſt the infidels. But "as their ſubſtance is not ſufficient to maintain an al"moſt continual war, we exhort you to ſupply them "out of your abundance, and recommend them to "the charity of the people committed to your paſtoral "care. Moreover, we declare to you, that we have "taken the houſe of the hoſpitallers of St. John, and "the whole order, into St. Peter's and our own pro"tection."

BUT this protection, and the ſpecial privileges which this pope and his predeceſſors had granted to the hoſpitallers, raiſed afterwards the jealouſy and complaints of moſt of the biſhops of Paleſtine, who could not bear that the holy ſee ſhould exempt theſe monks from their juriſdiction, and that the popes ſhould declare themſelves the only immediate biſhops of the whole order. We ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak of theſe differences, which made ſo much noiſe in the court of Rome, and all over the church.

* SCARCE were king Baldwin's eyes cloſed, when two different conſpiracies were formed in Antioch againſt the

* Wil. Tyr. l. 14. c. 4.

the rights of the minor princeſs, which had like to have kindled a civil war between the Latin princes of the eaſt. The dowager of Antioch, like moſt ſovereigns, who ſeem to think they have no relations, and as unnatural a mother as ſhe had been an ungrateful daughter, no ſooner ſaw the king her father in the grave, than ſhe was contriving continually, to the prejudice of her own child, how to make herſelf miſtreſs of the principality. Ponce, count of Tripoli, and the young Courtenay, who had juſt ſucceeded count Joſceline his father, ſecretly eſpouſed her intereſts; and a great number of the inhabitants of Antioch engaged to let the troops of thoſe two princes into the city.

UNKNOWN to this firſt party, was formed another cabal, not leſs dangerous. Roger, duke and afterwards king of Sicily, couſin to the young princeſs, and of the ſame houſe, either pretending that the principality of Antioch was a male fief, or, after the example of ambitious princes, believing all means juſt and lawful that lead to a throne, endeavoured to ſupplant the minor princeſs. He had his partiſans in the city; and theſe different plots were carrying on with great artifice and ſecreſy. But ſome of the inhabitants, who entered into neither of the ſchemes, diſcovered this double conſpiracy; they gave immediate advice of it to the governor placed there by Baldwin before his death. This commander, though ſupported by the garriſon, did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with the numerous inhabitants of ſo great a city: he diſpatched therefore courier after courier to the king of Jeruſalem, preſſing him to come immediately in perſon to Antioch, if he would preſerve the principality to the heireſs.

FULK, upon the receipt of this bad news, ſet out immediately with as many knights as he could find in a condition to follow him, and was accompanied by Anſelin de Brie, and brother Joubert an hoſpitaller, who ſhared his favour, and were admitted to the moſt intimate correſpondence and familiarity with him. To go to Antioch by land, the king of Jeruſalem was obliged to paſs through the territory of the count of

Tripoli his vaſſal; but this count and that of Edeſſa, at the head of their troops, oppoſed his paſſage. The king ſeeing a rebellion ſo openly declared, concluded that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt his niece, and that the ſafety of the young princeſs depended upon his getting the ſtart of the princes, and arriving firſt at Antioch. But as he had not troops enough with him to open himſelf a paſſage ſword in hand, he made a feint of giving way to force, turned back again, and to blind their ſpies, cauſed his guard to take the road of Jeruſalem, as if he had been in the midſt of that body of cavalry. But he withdrew privately from them, and in the night, attended only with his two favourites, reached the ſea coaſt, embarked in a ſmall veſſel, and arrived at the mouth of the river Orontes, and in the port of St. Simon, within five leagues of Antioch: from thence he went with great privacy to the gates of the city, and was let in by the governor and his adherents.

THIS prince, full of ſpirit and courage, ſoon made them ſenſible of his authority; his preſence and reſolution terrified the conſpirators; he impriſoned the moſt mutinous, and, to prevent ſuch attempts for the future, reſolved, in concert with the patriarch and moſt conſiderable lords of the principality, to marry the young princeſs out of hand, though ſhe was not yet of an age for marriage, and to chuſe her ſuch a prince as might ſerve for a tutor and a father to her, and be capable of defending her dominions.

THE princeſs of Antioch's inheritance was too ſplendid a fortune to fear ſhe ſhould fail of an husband; but the ſituation of her dominions, ſurrounded on all ſides by infidels, required a prince of eminent capacity and courage, that could keep the ſeditious in their duty, and at the ſame time make head againſt the continual incurſions of the infidels.

THE king of Jeruſalem caſt his eyes on Raimond, brother to William the laſt count of Poictiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, a prince of great courage, and who had given diſtinguiſhing proofs of it in all the wars wherein he had been engaged. They had

had

had ſeveral quarrels whilſt Fulk was in Europe, but the king generouſly ſacrificed his reſentment to the intereſts of his niece, and the count's bravery and merit made him eaſily forget their former diſputes.

THE patriarch and moſt conſiderable lords of the principality approving the king's choice, that prince pitched upon Joubert the hoſpitaller for this negotiation. He was very well qualified for it by the wiſdom of his conduct, which raiſed him afterwards to the firſt dignity of his order. This hoſpitaller embarked immediately, paſſed into France, and from thence to London, to the court of Henry I. king of England, where he heard the count of Poictiers, who was related to that prince, was gone. The ambaſſador ſaw the count, and perſuaded him, as well by motives drawn from religion, as by the important offer he made him, to paſs into Syria. The prince and the ambaſſador left England, arrived in France, and went down into Provence to embark. The ſucceſs of this great affair depended entirely upon ſecrecy, and upon getting the ſtart of a mighty armament, which Roger duke of Calabria, afterwards king of Sicily, was ſending into Syria, to ſupport his adherents. Unluckily for the count and the ambaſſador, there were not in all the ports of Provence any veſſels bound for the eaſt, and they heard with great concern, that there was no way of embarking but on board the very fleet of Roger. Whatever precaution the embaſſador had taken to conceal his commiſſion and deſigns, that duke had notice, that the count and ambaſſador were endeavouring to procure a paſſage into the eaſt, and had iſſued orders for arreſting them, if they were found in any of his ports. His ſpies, that were planted in every quarter, examined very ſtrictly all that offered themſelves for paſſengers: Yet the hoſpitaller was too cunning for them; the count and he parted in diſguiſe, went into Calabria, and were received as merchants on board two different ſhips that were ready to ſail. Theſe were Roger's own veſſels, and they carried both the count and ambaſſador into the neareſt port to the town of Antioch. The patri-

arch, a few days after, married the count to the young princeſs in the king's preſence, and in a general aſſembly of the eſtates, the count was ſolemnly acknowledged prince of Antioch, and the great men of the principality took the uſual oath of fidelity to him.

BUT whilſt Fulk was thus taken up with ſecuring the count's authority, the frontiers of his own kingdom were ravaged by various incurſions of the Arabians and Sarazens of Aſcalon. This city, with regard to the Sarazens of Egypt, was the key as it were of Paleſtine. The caliphs had neglected none of the fortifications then in uſe, and beſides a numerous garriſon which they maintained there, and changed every three months, theſe princes, to engage the inhabitants in the defence of the place, allowed them all pay, not excepting their very children, if males, who became entitled to it as ſoon as they were born; ſo that all were ſoldiers at Aſcalon, and they hardly knew any other profeſſion. It ſerved the Sarazens of Egypt for a ſchool, where their young men learned the art of war; they were every day out in parties, and lying in ambuſcade to ſurprize the country people, and even the weſtern pilgrims, who, landing at Jaffa, travelled from thence to Jeruſalem.

QUEEN Meleſinda, whom the king, during his abſence, had left regent of the kingdom, held ſeveral councils upon this occaſion; and after ſeveral methods propoſed for repreſſing the inroads of the infidels, none was found ſo proper as to rebuild the walls of the old city of Beerſheba. This place, anciently of the tribe of Simeon, is but two leagues from the mountains of Seir, which ſeparate the land of promiſe from Arabia Petræa, and ſix leagues from Aſcalon. 'Twas reſolved, after fortifying it, always to maintain there a ſtanding body of troops, able to make head againſt the inroads of the Arabians, and the parties which ſallied frequently out of Aſcalon. The queen cauſed the work to be carried on with great expedition; and when it was made defenſible, committed the guard of it to the hoſpitallers, who put a ſtrong garriſon drawn out of

their

their order into it: And theſe monaſtick ſoldiers [a], full of the firſt ſpirit of their inſtitution, made it a place of arms, and at the ſame time an aſylum for all the Chriſtians of that canton.

THESE knights [b] and the templars, in different brigades, never ſtirred from the frontiers, and made head on all ſides againſt the enterprizes of the infidels. This little kingdom was in a manner blocked up and beſieged, either by the ſeveral Turcoman princes, or by the Arabians of the deſart, or the Sarazens of Egypt. The zeal of theſe knights, their valour, and the renown of their exploits, rendered them ſoon as dear to all the Chriſtians, as they were terrible to the Barbarians; eſpecially in an age when mens ſalvation ſeemed annexed to the preſervation of the Holy Land. Every thing that paſſed there drew the attention of popes, princes and people, even at the remoteſt diſtance. 'Twas the concern of private perſons as well as ſovereigns: they had no notion of meriting for the pardon of their ſins by any more effectual way, than that of contributing to the defence of the holy places: there was ſcarce a will made without an article in it in favour of the military orders: many princes would needs be buried in the habit of one or the other of them; and this ſort of devotion was carried ſo far in the age we are ſpeaking of, that we have ſeen ſome ſovereigns enter themſelves in this holy militia, quitting the government of their ſtates; and others, by an unprecedented diſpoſal, bequeath, at their death, even their dominions themſelves to the hoſpitallers and templars.

THUS Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona and Provence, though already advanced in age, entered into the order of the templars, and his infirmities not allowing him to go in perſon to the chief houſe of the order in Jeruſalem, he ſent conſiderable ſums thither for carrying on the war againſt the infidels; and we

[a] De communi conſilio traditur fratribus domûs hoſpitalis quæ eſt Hieroſolymis, qui uſque in præſens debita cuſtodierunt diligentia.

[b] Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 22.

have seen this sovereign at last quit his authority, and the ensigns of it, to bury himself alive in the temple at Barcelona, where he died in the continual exercise of his new profession.

ALPHONSUS I. king of Navarre and Arragon, who also assumed the title of emperor of Spain, carried his zeal and devotion still further. This prince, who was one of the greatest generals of his age, had gained twenty nine battles in his wars against the Moors [a], seeing himself old and without children, declared the hospitallers of St. John, the templars, and the canons or knights of the holy sepulchre, his heirs and successors in the crowns of Navarre and Arragon, by his last will and testament [b] made A. D. 1131. This he did to engage these renowned warriors in the support of his designs against the Sarazens and Moors of Spain: He renewed this will a few days before his death, and most of the grandees of both his kingdoms, signed it out of complaisance to their sovereign.

ALPHONSUS, who never knew what danger was, attacking the infidels afterwards near Fraga, with forces much inferior to those of his enemies, was overwhelmed with their vast numbers, had his army cut in pieces, and perished himself in the action; nor could his body be found after the battle was over, either because the Moors had interred it, or it was so disfigured by his wounds, as not to be known. The people, who idolized him, and are always fond of every thing that appears extraordinary, maintained for a long time, that he was not killed in the battle; but that overwhelmed with shame and grief for having occasioned the loss of so many Christians as had been slain upon that occasion, he was gone in disguise on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that they should see him return and resume the reins of government, when he had by that penance expiated the fault which excess of courage had made him commit.

1133. July 19.

BUT

[a] Girom. Zurita. t. 1. l. 1. c. 52. fol. 49. col. 4.
[b] Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.

BUT the grandees of the two kingdoms were not to be blinded by this illuſion; and therefore to prevent the claim of the military orders, they reſolved, without loſs of time, to chuſe a new ſovereign. For this purpoſe, ſeveral aſſemblies were held between thoſe of Navarre and Arragon: but the lords and deputies of the two nations could not agree upon a prince to fill the throne of the great Alphonſus; each was for a prince of their own nation. This competition, and the natural jealouſy between people that are neighbours, broke the union which had ſubſiſted near ſixty years between the two kingdoms; a ſeparation enſued, the Navarreſe elected for their ſovereign Don Ramyre, a prince of the blood of their ancient kings; and the Arragoneſe, on the other hand, offered their crown to another prince of the ſame name, brother to the great Alphonſus, though this prince was a prieſt, and had above forty years before profeſſed himſelf a monk in the abbey of St. Pons de Thomiers in Languedoc, and had been afterwards abbot of Sahagun, and even elected ſucceſſively biſhop of Burgos, Pampeluna and Barbaſtro.

THIS prince having obtained a diſpenſation from Anacletus, others ſay from Innocent II. married Agnes, ſiſter to William count of Poictiers and Raimond count of Antioch. He had by her a daughter, named Petronilla; and the queen, that princeſs's mother, dying ſoon after, this king, at once a monk, a prieſt and a married man,[a] finding in himſelf none of the great qualities neceſſary for a throne, and perhaps touched with a juſt remorſe of conſcience, reſolved to retire again into his convent. He made a treaty with Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and ſon to the templar above mentioned, that he ſhould marry his daughter when ſhe was grown up; and in conſequence of this treaty, he reſigned to him immediately the

[a] Romani pontificis venia (ſic credimus) ut rex, conjux et ſacerdos idem eſſet impetratum: Agnes Guillelmi Pictavorum et Aquitanicæ principis connubio juncta. Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.

the government of the kingdom, which Raimond Berenger took upon him by the title of prince of Arragon.

THE news of the choice made by these two nations in prejudice of Alphonsus's will being brought to Palestine, the patriarch of Jerusalem,[a] superior of the canons of the holy sepulchre, and the masters of the two military orders held several councils with the principal persons of each house, to consider of this grand affair, and came to a resolution to send deputies into Spain, to demand the execution of the late king's will, or at least to make such a treaty with regard to the succession as should be most for the interest of the legatees.

RAIMOND DUPUY was charged with this negotiation; he undertook it readily, and set out in company with some old hospitallers, chosen for that purpose by the council of the order. William, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the templars likeways, named their own deputies: they arrived all happily in Spain, but met with unsurmountable difficulties in the pursuit of so nice an affair.

THE lords of Navarre and Arragon had already chosen new sovereigns in prejudice of the will of king Alphonsus. These princes were in possession of the throne when the deputies of the Holy Land arrived in Spain; and there was no great likelihood of their abdicating it voluntarily to make way for foreigners. They entered however at first into some negotiations upon the matter; but as pretensions of this nature, without force to back them, are generally little regarded, they went no farther than to offer the deputies some sort of amends, if any amends can be made for crowns, and embarassed them every day in a labyrinth of proposals, which had no meaning, and of which they saw

[a] Patriarchalis siquidem ecclesia, quæ est dominici sepulchri sub monte Calvariæ, canonicos habet regulares, secundum habitum et regulam sancti Augustini viventes; habent autem priorem, ad quem cum prædictis canonicis pertinet eligere patriarcham, qui est eis loco abbatis. Jacob. Vitri. hist. Hierosol. c. 58. p. 1098.

ſaw no end. The negotiation flagged inſenſibly; and at laſt the king of Navarre taking off the maſk, aſſerted, that the late king could not diſpoſe of the crown to the prejudice of his lawful heirs, or of that natural right which, in default of heirs, the people have to chuſe themſelves a ſovereign; and by this declaration put an end to all hopes of any further treating with him. Raimond, count of Barcelona and prince of Arragon, acted more generouſly, and reſolved to do ſome juſtice to the legatees of king Alphonſus.

IT was agreed, that if the count, and the young queen Petronilla, whom he was to marry, ſhould die without iſſue, the crown of Arragon ſhould revert to the military orders and the canons of the holy ſepulchre; that in the mean time both parties ſhould have a certain number of vaſſals in ſuch places as they ſhould afterwards recover from the 1134. Moors; and that theſe vaſſals ſhould be obliged to bear arms, and follow the military friars of Spain, when ever they took the field againſt the infidels.

BESIDES theſe conditions, ſome lands and caſtles, conſiderable for their dependencies, and able to maintain a great number of knights, were yielded to theſe legatees of the ſovereignty. And to theſe lands and lordſhips were added a tenth part of all the cuſtoms and duties levied throughout the kingdom, and the fifth of all the contributions raiſed on the lands of the Moors; and it was reſolved, that the kings of Arragon ſhould never make peace with the infidels, without firſt acquainting the patriarch of Jeruſalem and the two military orders. This treaty was ſigned and ratified in September A. D. 1141, and pope Adrian IV. and Fulk king of Jeruſalem confirmed it afterwards.

RAIMOND Dupuy, having brought this important affair to an end, embarked with other deputies, 1141. ſailed for Paleſtine, and arrived happily at Jeruſalem. He was received with that real joy and

Quarita t. 1. l. 2. c. 4. f. 40. Mariana l. 10. c. 18.

and hearty respect which his singular virtue inspired. Brompton and Roger Hoveden, two English historians, who flourished in the same age, call him from this time the Grand Master; and 'tis by this title that I shall for the future speak of this illustrious head of the hospitallers and his successors, most of which sacrificed their lives in defence of the Holy Land.

THAT ancient kingdom of David, or rather the inheritance of Jesus Christ, lost at this time its king in the person of Fulk of Anjou. That prince, being a hunting in the plains of Acre, was killed by a fall from his horse, and found in an exercise of peace the death which he had dared so often in war. He left two sons very young, Baldwin the eldest of thirteen, and Amaury of but seven years of age.

THE king's death gave birth to cabals, which most minorities are exposed to, and opened afterwards a way to the invasions of the Turcomans and Sarazens. Queen Melesinda, mother of the young princes, not only pretended to the regency which no body disputed with her, but would moreover be acknowledged as queen in her own right, and sole sovereign of the kingdom, as being daughter to Baldwin Dubourg. The grandees, on the contrary, seeing themselves surrounded by formidable enemies, were for a captain and king at their head. These contests, supported by different parties, had like to have degenerated into a civil war: at last it was agreed to defer the decision of this great difference till the majority of Baldwin. But it was not long before the nobility caused him to be crowned without the knowledge of the queen his mother, to whom nevertheless they were obliged, for peace sake, to yield up half of the kingdom. 1142.

IN the interval between the death of Fulk and the coronation of Baldwin III. his son, the Latin Christians lost the county of Edessa, called at that time Rouha or Rohais. We have observed before, that Baldwin Dubourg at his accession to the crown, had resigned this principality to Joscelin de Courtenay his

cousin,

couſin, following herein the example of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother, who, to engage the princes and the great lords of the cruſade in the defence of the Holy Land, had given them the principal lordſhips and territories of it in fief. Hence aroſe the counts of Edeſſa, Tripoli, Joppa, or Jaffa, and afterwards of Aſcalon, and Galilee, and the lords of Yblim, Montroyal, Thoron, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Cæſarea, all lords of the firſt nobility of this new kingdom.

JOSCELINE de Courtenay, whom we have juſt mentioned, had maintained himſelf in his principality by a thouſand brave actions againſt the enterprizes of the infidels: but that prince dying, the ſon whom he left heir to his dominions, did by no means inherit his virtues. The young Courtenay, educated in the pleaſures and luxury of the eaſt, ſpent his life in debauch: and that he might have the fewer witneſſes of his irregularities, quitted Edeſſa, and retired with the miniſters of his pleaſures to Turbeſſel, a town ſituated twenty four miles from the Euphrates on this ſide the river with regard to Paleſtine.

OMADEDDIN Zenghi, a Turcoman of the
1143. Selgeucidian race, ſultan of Moſul and Aleppo, and the moſt potent prince in all the eaſt, being informed of the effeminate manner in which young Courtenay paſſed his life, entered his country, and laid ſiege to Edeſſa. Courtenay, who was attended by none but poltroon and effeminate favourites, had not the courage to throw himſelf into his capital, and either defend it, or bury himſelf in its ruins; he even looked on whilſt the ſiege was advancing, without making the leaſt motion to reinforce the place, and Zenghi would have ſtripped him of the reſt of his dominions with the ſame eaſe, if that prince, harſh and cruel in his nature, had not, in the moment he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts, been aſſaſſinated in his tent by his own ſervants. He left two ſons behind him, Coteledin and Noradin. The eldeſt reigned at Moſul, and the principality of Aleppo fell to the ſhare of Noradin the younger, a prince of much wiſ-

dom,

dom, capacity and justice, a good soldier, an excellent officer, and a great general, an enemy to the Christians by a principle of religion, and often engaged in the field against the hospitallers and templars.

AFTER the loss of Edessa, the affairs of the Latin Christians began to decline in the east. Godfrey de Bouillon, the two Baldwins, Fulk of Anjou, the renowned Bohemund, the brave Tancred, the old Courtenay and the count of Tholouse were now no more; and their descendents, softened and emasculated with the pleasures of Asia, occupied indeed their places, but did not fill them: there was none but the young king Baldwin, and the two military orders, that bravely opposed the enterprizes of the infidels. But as their forces no ways answered their valour, they resolved to have recourse to the princes of Europe, and solicite a new crusade, that might drive the infidels entirely out of the Holy Land. With this view the bishop of Zabulon was dispatched into Europe, and landed at Marseilles. The first crusade having been raised in France, he came thither to solicite a second.

LOUIS VII. was then upon the throne, a
1143. prince young and handsome, full of courage but uneven in his conduct, more scrupulous than devout, and utterly ignorant of the great art of reigning. Baldwin's deputy could not have arrived at court in a more favourable juncture. The king being at war with Thibaut, count of Champagne and Blois, his vassal, met with such opposition at the siege of Vitry in Parthois, that being exasperated against the inhabitants, and having carried the place by storm, he put all before him to fire and sword, insomuch, that, it is said, thirteen hundred persons of both sexes, men, women and children, who had taken refuge in the great church, all perished in the flames of it. A just remorse succeeding so terrible an execution, this prince [a] resolved

[a] Ludovicus rex Vitriacum castrum comitis Theobaldi capit, ubi igne admoto, ecclesiâ incensâ, et in eâ mille trecentæ animæ diversi sexûs et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ, super quo rex Ludovicus misericordiâ motus plorâsse dicitur, et hac de causa peregrinationem Hierosolymitanam agressus à quibusdam æstimatur. Rob. de Monte appendix ad Sigeb. ad annum 1143.

ed to expiate his fault by an expedition to Jeruſalem, the common reſource and refuge at that time of the greateſt ſinners. He communicated his deſign to pope Eugnius III. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, and that he might perform this pilgrimage in the moſt ſerviceable manner to the Chriſtians of the Holy Land, he entreated the pontiff to cauſe a new cruſade, after the example of Urban II. to be recommended from the pulpit. [a] 1144.

THIS pontiff, who from a monk of the order of Clairvaux, and a diſciple of St. Bernard, had been advanced to the chair of St. Peter, very much commended the pious deſign of Louis, and to concur with his intentions, ſent his briefs through all Chriſtendom, to exhort princes and their ſubjects to take up arms. He appointed St. Bernard alſo, who was the oracle of his age, to preach up the cruſade in France and Germany; and to engage the faithful to take the croſs, he opened the treaſures of the church, and granted a plenary indulgence to all that did ſo. [b] 1143.

THE holy abbot of Clairvaux, upon the pope's order, quits his retreat, he paſſes ſucceſſively to the courts of the king of France and the emperor Conrad, he mounts the pulpit, he preaches, thunders, and, full of fire and indignation, repreſents how great ſcandal it was for Chriſtians, to ſuffer the heritage of Jeſus Chriſt, in the land that was watered with his precious blood, to be on the brink of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels. He omits nothing proper to move his auditors, and engage them to take up arms; and it is affirmed, that, tranſported with zeal, he openly foretold a certain victory and entire defeat of the infidels. The charms of his eloquence, his moving and pathetick expreſſions, the reputation of his ſanctity, the happy ſucceſs which, as we ſaid before, he is reported to have proclaimed with ſo much aſſurance, and ſome ſhining miracles alſo, which the writers of his life aſcribe to him on this occaſion, and which may be regarded

[a] Preuves de l'hiſtoire des comptes de Poitou. pag. 483.

[b] Gaufrid. vita ſancti Bernardi.

garded as the sureſt credentials of a prophet, all this induced the emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the princes and lords their vaſſals to take up arms.

A LAME child being preſented to St. Bernard in the emperor's preſence, the holy abbot made the ſign of the croſs, took up the child, and ordered it, before the whole aſſembly, to walk; and then turning to Conrad, "This was wrought for you, ſays he, that you "might be aſſured, that God is indeed with you, and "that your enterpriſe is pleaſing in his ſight."

SEVERAL French and German lords, verily perſuaded that St. Bernard was entruſted with the power of heaven, and that like another Moſes he would work miracles to bring the people of God into the land of promiſe, propoſed with great importunity, in a council held at Chartres, that he might be obliged to take upon him the general command of the army[a]; but the man of God, whoſe prudence was no ways inferior to his zeal, contented himſelf with being the herald and trumpeter of it. Having accompliſhed his miſſion, he retired into his abbey, and left to warlike princes the honour and perils of the execution.

THE emperor and the king of France levied each of them a prodigious number of troops; each army was computed at no leſs than ſeventy thouſand men of arms, beſides the light horſe and infantry: it looked as if the French and Germans had reſolved by concert to abandon their country; and if any capable of bearing arms were upon other accounts detained at home, theſe new ſoldiers of the cruſade, by way of inſult, and as it were to reproach them with their cowardice, ſent them a ſpindle and a diſtaff. The very women reviving the hiſtory or fable of the Amazons, appeared at a review on horſe-back and in arms, and formed ſeveral ſquadrons.

ELEANOR queen of France, and wife to Louis VII. was at the head of theſe heroines; a princeſs of ſingu-

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[a] De cætero, verbum illud, quod jam, ni fallor, audiſtis, quomodo videlicet in conventu Carnotenſi, quonam judicio ſatis miror, me quaſi ducem et principem militiæ elegerant. Divi Bernardi Ep. 256. ad Eug. Pap.

lar beauty, who, by her marriage, brought the king the provinces of Guienne and Poitou, and who would have been the delight of that prince, if in her purſuit of pleaſures ſhe had ſuffered herſelf to be leſs tranſported by the warmth of her conſtitution, or had not been ſuſpected to ſhare them with other perſons beſides the king her husband.

THOUGH it looked as if Germany and France had undertaken to ſubdue all Aſia, (at leaſt theſe numerous armies, with two great princes at their head, and commanded by brave officers, were but too capable of making that conqueſt) yet the perfidiouſneſs of the Greeks, ever uneaſy and jealous of theſe great armaments, their ignorance of the roads, the treachery of their guides, the want of proviſions, and the numerous and formidable troops which oppoſed their paſſage, ruined both theſe Chriſtian armies, even before they arrived in Paleſtine. They attempted the ſiege of Damaſcus, but in vain, and the miſcarriage was owing even to ſome Chriſtians themſelves.

CONRAD ſet out firſt, and arrived at Conſtantinople towards the end of March, A. D. 1147. He was brother-in-law to Emanuel Comnenus, who then governed the empire of the eaſt. Theſe two princes had married the two daughters of Berenger the elder, count of Luxemberg. This alliance made the German prince preſume he ſhould be well received. The perfidious Greek treated him as his ally, with reſpect to his private perſon; but in regard to his troops as a mortal enemy. By his order, the wells and ciſterns were poiſoned in all the places which the Germans paſſed through; and theſe ſtrangers were forced to give an exceſſive price for bread mixed with lime and plaiſter. His brother-in-law furniſhed him with guides, who, after leading him out of his way, through by-roads and endleſs windings, in the mountains and rocks of Cappadocia, delivered his army half dead with hunger, ſtarved and ſpent, into the hands of the infidels, who cut it in pieces.

THE king of France was ſcarce more fortunate, and though at the paſſage of the river Meander, he gained a conſiderable victory over the infidels, yet upon his arrival at Antioch, he met with a misfortune, which perhaps more ſenſibly affected him than even the loſs of a battle.

RAIMOND of Poictiers, uncle by the father's ſide to the queen of France, was then, in right of his wife, ſovereign of that great principality. This prince, by birth a Frenchman and the king's ſubject, received Louis and the queen his niece with all the marks of honour, and all the magnificence due to his ſovereign. There was nothing to be ſeen for the firſt days of their arrival, but feaſting, balls and turnaments. Raimond, who hoped to draw ſome ſolid advantages from the arrival of the French in his dominions, added to all theſe demonſtrations of the ſincereſt joy, magnificent preſents which he made to the king and the chief officers of his army. His view was to engage Louis, before he advanced into Paleſtine, to turn his arms againſt the Mahometan princes his neighbours, with whom he was actually in war. The queen his niece at his requeſt mentioned it to the king, and uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances to induce him to a compliance. The intereſt of the prince her uncle was not the only motive upon which ſhe acted. It is ſaid, that this princeſs, who was not over ſcrupulous in point of duty, and was fallen in love with a young baptized Turk named Saladin, could not think of parting from him. She paſſionately wiſhed, that whilſt the king was marching againſt her uncle's enemies, he would leave her at Antioch. The king, who began to have ſome ſuſpicions of this ſcandalous correſpondence, had no other way to avoid the conſequences of it, but by taking her by night out of Antioch, and carrying her to Jeruſalem. As ſoon as he arrived there, the emperor of Germany came to join him with the broken remains of his army. Theſe two princes formed the ſiege of Damaſcus, and thought themſelves ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that they agreed and promiſed to confer the ſovereign-

ty of the place, and the country belonging to it, upon Thierry count of Flanders. But the news of their deſign coming to the ears of ſome Latin lords, whoſe fathers had, from the time of the firſt cruſade, been ſettled in Syria, they were ſo exaſperated, that the count of Flanders, whom they treated as a ſtranger and new comer in reſpect of themſelves, ſhould be preferred before them, that by an abominable treaſon, and a criminal correſpondence with the infidels, they cauſed the enterprize to miſcarry. Louis and Conrad, deteſting their villany, returned into Europe with the miſerable remains of their great armies, and both of them with more chagrin than glory. 1148.

IF we may believe the greateſt part of hiſtorians, there were not fewer than two hundred thouſand men that periſhed in this unhappy expedition. By the ſame means alſo, ſeveral of the greateſt houſes, both of France and Germany, became extinct. Such as were concerned in this general loſs, made no ſcruple to impute it to St. Bernard; the father demanded back his ſon of him, the wife her husband, and the moſt outragious arraigned him as a falſe prophet. The holy abbot, in his defence, was obliged to make an apology, which he addreſſed to pope Eugenius III. "They accuſe me, ſays he, of having made fine promiſes "which had no effect, as if I had acted raſhly in this "affair; whereas I did nothing but execute your or-"ders, or rather thoſe which God gave me by you."

HE alledges afterwards the example of Moſes, who having brought the Iſraelites out of Egypt, did not give them poſſeſſion of the fertile land that was promiſed them, though he acted only by the orders of God, confirmed by miracles; and he maintains, that the militia of the cruſade were not leſs incredulous, or leſs rebellious than the Iſraelites*: This is one of the reaſons upon which Otho biſhop of Friſingen, and brother by the mother's ſide to the emperor Conrad, lays the greateſt ſtreſs. That prelate, to vindicate his friend St. Bernard, pretends, that the vices which reigned in the Chriſtian

* De rebus geſtis Friderici imperatoris, c. 60. p. 231.

Christian armies prevented the effect of his predictions. But may we not answer the German bishop, that this reasoning is perhaps more specious than solid, since if the holy abbot had been endued with the spirit of prophecy on this occasion, he ought, in virtue of that supernatural light, to have known, that they of the crusade would have offended God, and that instead of the victories which his minister bid them expect, he would punish them with all the calamities that befel them. Accordingly the historian himself, who seems to be sensible of the weakness of his own reasoning, is reduced at last to this ingenuous confession, that the spirit of prophecy [a] does not inspire the prophets on all occasions.

BUT whatever were the causes of this unhappy event, which we are not allowed to fathom, we shall content ourselves with observing, that those great armies, which flattered themselves with so many conquests, could not take one single town from the infidels; and that the Latin Christians of Syria and Palestine were afterwards reduced to a situation that seemed to threaten them with a total and approaching ruin.

THEY had nothing less to fear from the Egyptians and the southern quarter. The king, to raise a barrier against these enemies, had caused the walls of old Gaza, one of the five lordships of the Philistines, seven leagues from Ascalon, to be rebuilt. That prince gave the government of it in property to the order of the templars [b]; and these military friars (men, says William of Tyre, full of courage, like the hospitallers) made it a place of arms, from whence they repressed the excursions of the garrison of Ascalon, and forced the Sarazens to shut themselves up within their walls.

1148. NORADIN in the mean time taking advantage of the consternation into which the retreat of the troops of the crusade had thrown the people, entered

[a] Quamquam et spiritus prophetarum non semper subsit prophetis. De rebus gestis Friderici imperatoris. l. 1. c. 60. p. 231.

[b] Milites templi Gazam antiquam Palæstinæ civitatem reædificant, et turribus eam muniunt, Ascalonitas graviter infestant. Rob. de monte append. ad chron. Sig. p. 631.

ed the principality of Antioch at the head of his army, ravaged the country, took ſeveral ſmall towns; and count Raimond conſulting his courage rather than his forces, endeavouring to oppoſe the torrent, was routed, the greateſt part of his troops cut in pieces, and he himſelf periſhed in the action.

ON the other hand, the ſultan of Cogni or Iconium invaded the county of Edeſſa, ravaged the country, and took young Courtenay priſoner, who died ſoon after in the chains of that barbarian. Every thing fled before him. The inhabitants of the towns and villages, almoſt all of them Chriſtians, ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of ſuccour, abandoned their country and their houſes to avoid the tyranny of the infidels. Every one ſtrove to reach ſome Chriſtian town for ſecurity. Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, to favour at leaſt their retreat, advanced at the head of his nobility, and the two military orders, to ſerve them for eſcorts; he placed all his people, men, women, children, cattle and baggage in the midſt of the troops he had got together: he poſted himſelf in the van-gaurd, the count of Tripoli, with Humfrey de Thoron conſtable of the kindgom, commanded the rear; and in this order they marched towards the principality of Antioch. Noradin, who could not bear that this prey ſhould eſcape him, advanced immediately at the head of all his cavalry, came up with the Chriſtian army, and poured in every moment ſhowers of arrows to make them halt. He attempted ſeveral times to break the Chriſtian troops. They could not march a league without being obliged to fight; the infidels, to retard the march of an army embaraſſed enough otherways with their baggage, returning every moment to the charge. But on what ſide ſoever they made their attack, they found always either the young king, or the count of Tripoli, at the head of the hoſpitallers and templars, preſenting a terrible front, and bearing down before them every rank and part of the army that durſt approach them; ſo that Noradin, not able to break them, and wanting proviſions, gave

over

over at last the pursuit, and the Christian army arrived safe in the territories of Antioch.

WHILST the king was thus employed in rescuing these people from slavery, he was within a few moments of losing his capital, by another enterprize of the infidels. Two of their princes called Jaroquins, Turcomans by nation, whose father or grandfather reigned in Palestine before the Sarazens recovered Jerusalem, being pressed by the reproaches of their mother, and informed of the king's absence, levied a considerable army, marched from their own country, passed through Damascus, fell upon the Christian territories, and advanced up to the gates of the holy city. The inhabitants, in a terrible consternation, saw them incamp in the evening upon mount Olivet. The barbarians flattered themselves, that they should be able the next day to take by scalado, a place where they knew the king had left no garrison; but out of an excess of confidence, ever dangerous in war, they lost one of those lucky moments on which the greatest successes depend. The inhabitants recovering from their consternation, and encouraged by such hospitallers and templars as were left in the city, took arms; and as they were not enough in number to defend their walls, instead of waiting in the city for the coming up of the enemy, they issue out in the dark at midnight, fall upon the camp of their enemies, whom they find buried in sleep, set fire to their tents, cut the cordage, and carry terror and death on every side.

THE infidels, surprised and terrified with so unexpected an attack, fled for their lives, and their whole force disbanded, without keeping any certain road. As they fled towards Jericho, they fell into a body of cavalry, commanded by the king in person, who, having had advice that they were entered his territories, was advancing to the relief of Jerusalem. Above five thousand were cut in pieces; others were knocked on the head by the Christian peasants; and the garrison of Napolousa, which waited for them as they returned, compleated the dispersion, and pursued them to the banks

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of Jordan, where the infidels, to avoid the ſword of the Chriſtians, and in hopes of ſwimming over the river, threw themſelves in and were drowned.

THE king, to make repriſals, reſolved in his turn to ravage the territory of Aſcalon; he put himſelf at the head of his army and, followed by the great maſters of the two military orders, and the principal nobility of his kingdom, entered the country, deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword, and demoliſhed abundance of ſummer-houſes and gardens belonging to the chief inhabitants of Aſcalon. He advanced next up to the gates of that important place; and having taken a view of it himſelf, reſolved to beſiege it. But as he had not troops enough for ſo great an enterpize, he ſummoned all the nobility and gentry of his kingdom. Some pilgrims, who were juſt arrived, generouſly offered him their ſervice, and the old men of the country, worn out with age, the glorious remains of the firſt cruſade, ran to the camp. Each was aſſigned his proper quarter, whilſt Gerard lord of Sidon, to hinder any ſuccours being thrown into the place, kept the ſea with fifteen gallies. 1152.

THE city of Aſcalon, one of the five governments of the ancient Philiſtines, was ſeated at the foot of an hill, on the ſide of the Mediterranean ſea, ſeven leagues from Gaza, which was a Chriſtian city, and the frontier of the kingdom of Jeruſalem on that ſide next Egypt, ſituate on the edge of the deſart which divides the two kingdoms, and at that time in the poſſeſſion of the templars.

ASCALON was in figure like a ſemicircle, formed by the town and buildings, the ſea ſhore making as it were the diameter. It was encompaſſed with high walls, fortified at proper diſtances with ſtrong towers, well ſupplied with warlike engines to throw ſtones and darts; the ditches were flat bottomed and full of water: ſome advanced works hindered all approach to the body of the place, and they had added all the fortifications that the art of that time could deviſe. The king, young as he was, managed this important ſiege himſelf:

himself. From the time the great Godfrey de Bouillon there had never been seen in the Holy Land a prince in whom, at so green an age, were united such singular valour, so great a capacity, and such rare talents
1153. for war. The siege was long and very obstinate; the attacks brisk and continual; the defence too was brave, and the sallies, or rather the battles, frequent *. The Christians did not get a foot of ground but what cost them a great number of men; and they often lost the next day what they had gained over night, at the expence of the lives of their bravest soldiers. The siege had already lasted five months, with good and ill success alternately, when a strong fleet coming from Egypt, and laden with provisions and land forces, appeared off Ascalon. This fleet consisted of seventy gallies, besides vessels of burden, which carried a prodigious quantity of arms and provisions. The Christian admiral, who had but fifteen gallies, finding himself not sufficiently provided to dispute the passage with the Egyptians, retired as fast as he could, and the infidels landed their succour without any opposition. It was received with great acclamations of joy by the garrison and inhabitants, who from the towers insulted the Christian army, and asked the soldiers when they designed to return to Jerusalem. This seemed indeed the only resolution they had to take; at least it was the sentiment of the nobility, and most of the chief officers in the army. But the great master of the hospitallers, seconded by the patriarch, and the rest of the bishops, was of a contrary opinion [b]. He represented to the king, that such a step would only serve to depress the courage of his soldiers, and raise that of the enemies, and perhaps put the sultan upon the design of forming in his turn the siege of Jerusalem. Several councils were held upon this occasion: at last the king, after a mature examination of the reasons

* Wil. Tyr. l. 17.

[b] In opposita sententia dominus patriarcha, dominus quoque Tyrienſis erant cum clero, confortem habentes dominum Raimundum magistrum hospitalis cum fratribus suis. Wil. Tyr. l. 17. c. 28. p. 928.

ſons on both ſides, declared himſelf for the moſt honourable reſolution, and it was determined to continue the ſiege.

IN the mean, time the Egyptians that were landed at Aſcalon, being recovered from the fatigues of the ſea, made frequent ſallies. They thought to gain an eaſy conqueſt over the chriſtians, who had been repreſented to them as diſpirited and worn out with the length of the ſiege; but they were not long without finding by experience, that valour ſupplies the want of numbers. The Chriſtians always repulſed them with advantage. As there was no action of this kind but coſt the infidels a number of men, their ſallies grew leſs frequent, and their mettle cooled; on the other hand, the courage of the Chriſtian ſoldiers encreaſed; and the templars having filled up the ditch, advanced their works as near as they could to that part of the wall which was oppoſite to them, cauſing a tower or fort of wooden caſtle of great height to be brought thither. This tower was a machine made uſe of at that time in ſieges, which they drove upon wheels; and when it was within reach of the walls, they let down a wooden bridge with rails, from whence the beſiegers annoyed and fought the beſieged; and when they met with but little reſiſtance, they threw themſelves into the place, and endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of it.

THE Sarazens, one evening before the templars had advanced this machine to the foot of the wall, threw a great quantity of dry wood, bitumen, oil, and combuſtible matter, near the wooden tower, and then ſet fire to it, in hopes that the flames would reach the tower. But the deſign proved fatal to its authors; there aroſe in the night an eaſterly wind, which, inſtead of ſetting fire to the tower, drove the flakes againſt the wall, burnt the mortar, with which it was built, and made it give way. Some templars, who did not in the leaſt queſtion but their machine had been burnt, going out of mere curioſity the next day to ſee the remains of it, were ſtrangely ſurprized to find it entire,

and

and they perceived at the ſame time an opening made in the wall, which would facilitate the ſcaling of it. They immediately advertiſed their grand maſter of it: That lord, tranſported with joy, came privately thither to take a view of the breach himſelf, and finding it practicable, without giving any account of it to the king, he ordered a brigade of his knights to enter. No ſooner did they appear ſword in hand, and with that daring countenance that ſucceſs inſpires, but the inhabitants thought the town was taken: Moſt of them fled immediately to ſave themſelves; and the principal officers of the garriſon, to avoid the firſt fury of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, threw themſelves into boats, and put off from the ſhore. But the great maſter's avarice hindered the Chriſtians from making their advantage of the fright of the infidels; for this chief of the templars, deſirous to ſecure the whole plunder of the city to himſelf, inſtead of ſending to the king for more troops to ſuſtain the templars who had entered the place, poſted himſelf with the reſt of his knights upon the breach, to keep the ſoldiers of the Chriſtian army from paſſing it*, in caſe any of them ſhould perceive the opening made in wall. In the mean time, the few templars who had thrown themſelves into Aſcalon, ventured preſumptuouſly into the middle of the city, to have the plunder of the principal houſes to themſelves, where the inhabitants recovering from their fright, no ſooner perceived how ſmall a number there was of them, than they rallied and made head againſt them. The templars then ſaw themſelves attacked by the troops of the garriſon, and from the tops of the houſes came pouring down upon them fireworks, ſcalding water, ſtones, tiles, and every thing that the beſieged found next at hand. The templars, after the loſs of a great number of their comrades,

* Magiſter militiæ templi Bernardus Detrimelas cum fratribus ſuis alios antè multò prævenientes aditum occupaverant, neminem niſi de ſuis intrare permittentes, eos autem hac intentione dicebantur arcere quatenus primi ingredientes ſpolia majora et manubias obtinerent ubertores.---- Dum ergo cupiditate rapti ad prædæ participium renuunt habere conſortes, in mortis periculo meritò reperti ſunt ſoli. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 27.

rades, were forced to a precipitate retreat; every one fled to regain the breach by which he had mounted at firſt with ſo much courage; the great maſter too was obliged himſelf to abandon the poſt he was in poſſeſſion of; the infidels ſeized upon it, made cuttings off and entrenchments before the place where the Chriſtians had entered, and by new barricadoes put it in a condition of defence.

'TIS impoſſible to expreſs the king's indignation and the wrath of the ſoldiers, when they were appriſed that nothing but the avarice of the templars had occaſioned their miſſing ſo difficult and glorious a conqueſt. The inhabitants of Aſcalon, on the contrary, increaſed in confidence and courage; and the next day mixing themſelves with the Egyptian garriſon, they made a freſh ſally in good order, and boldly attacked the lines of the Chriſtians. The fight was bloody, and the ſucceſs doubtful for a long time; the victory changed ſides more than once; the infidels at firſt filled up ſeveral fathoms of the trenches, ruined ſome redoubts, threw themſelves ſword in hand into the Chriſtian camp, demoliſhed the tents, and penetrated as far as the king's quarter.

THAT prince, at the head of the nobility, fought with an invincible courage, and gave time to his troops to recover from their ſurprize, and get over their firſt conſternation. The templars, eager to waſh away with their blood the fault they had committed, expoſed themſelves like furies in the thickeſt of the enemies battalions; and the hoſpitallers, whoſe zeal and emulation ſpurred them on to danger, prodigal of their lives, never heeded the loſing them, provided they could kill a Sarazen. The Egyptians ſhewed no leſs courage on their part; they were all for vanquiſhing or dying. This ſally, or rather battle, laſted from morning till evening. At laſt the infidels, aſtoniſhed at the invincible courage of the chriſtians, and daunted with the force of their blows, began to give way a little. The king ſeeing them flag, reſumed new vigour, and broke into them ſword in hand. It was afterwards a mere

butchery rather than a fight. The Chriſtian ſoldiers, breathing blood and vengeance againſt the infidels, gave no quarter; torrents of blood ran down the lines, and moſt of the Egyptians that came to the ſuccour of Aſcalon, periſhed in this ſally. Such as could eſcape the fury of the Chriſtian ſoldiers got back into the town, carrying thither, with the ſhame of their defeat, a deſpair of ſaving the place. The inhabitants upon the loſs of this reinforcement, loſt likeways all hopes of raiſing the ſiege. There was a general conſternation; the old men, women and children never ſtirred from the moſques, wearying out heaven with their vain prayers; ſuch as had ſtill any health and ſtrength left, employed themſelves in making intrenchments behind the walls of the city; but a ſtone of a prodigious bigneſs, thrown from one of the engines of the beſiegers, falling by chance upon a great beam carried by forty men, moſt of whom were maſhed to pieces, the terror of the people, already prepoſſeſſed that they could not reſiſt the Chriſtians, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to prevent the terrible conſequences of an aſſault by a timely compoſition.

A SUSPENSION of arms was firſt agreed on, under pretence of carrying off the dead on both ſides, and by means of this truce they entered into a negotiation. The treaty was ſoon concluded between parties, the one of which was afraid of being carried by ſtorm, and the other of a new ſuccour's obliging them to raiſe the ſiege; ſo they clapped up an agreement, that the Sarazens ſhould deliver up the place immediately to the Chriſtians, and that the latter ſhould furniſh them waggons with a convoy to carry their effects to Laris, a city in the deſart; which was executed punctually Auguſt 12. A. D. 1154.[a]

THERE had been no conqueſt, ſince that of Jeruſalem, either more glorious or more uſeful than this of Aſcalon. The Chriſtian garriſon that was placed there joining with that of Gaza, raiſed contributions even in Egypt itſelf. The news of its being taken was received

[a] The continuator of Sigebert places this event in A. D. 1153.

ed with extrordinary joy in Europe: They were well apprized of the part which the maſter of the hoſpitallers had in it, and the acknowledgement of his ſervices was, in all probability, the reaſon why pope Anaſtaſius IV. granted new privileges to the order, and confirmed the old ones, as may be ſeen in the bull of this pontiff addreſſed to Raimond Dupuy. The pope therein declares, that following the example of his predeceſſors Innocent II. Celeſtine II. Lucius II. and Eugenius III. he takes the hoſpital and houſe of St. John into the protection of St. Peter; that he allows the hoſpitallers to build churches and church-yards in all the lands and ſeigniories belonging to them, and to inter their deceaſed brethren there, with all the ceremonies of the church, notwithſtanding any interdict iſſued out by the ordinary, and even to ſay or cauſe maſs and divine ſervice to be ſaid once a year in any other interdicted churches, if lying in the road which the hoſpitallers are obliged to travel in obedience to the orders of their ſuperiors.

THE holy father, directing his diſcourſe to them, ſays, "As you, my brethren, make ſo worthy an uſe "of your goods and poſſeſſions, employing them for "the maintenance of the poor, and entertainment of "pilgrims, we forbid all the faithful, of what dignity "ſoever they are, to exact the tythe of your lands, "or to publiſh any eccleſiaſtical ſentence of interdict, "ſuſpenſion or excommunication in the churches be"longing to you; and in caſe of a general interdict "laid upon whole countries, you may ſtill continue to "have divine ſervice ſaid in your churches, provided "it be done with the doors ſhut, and without ringing "of bells. We grant you likeways the liberty of ad"mitting prieſts and clerks, as well into your princi"pal houſe of Jeruſalem, as into the other ſubordi"nate houſes that depend upon it. And if any bi"ſhops or ordinaries oppoſe it, you may nevertheleſs, "in virtue of the authority of the holy ſee, receive "them, after proper teſtimonials of their conduct; "and ſuch prieſts and clerks ſhall be abſolutely ex-

" empted from their juriſdiction, and be ſubject only " to the holy ſee and your chapter. You may like- " ways receive laicks of free condition for the ſervice " of the poor. And as for ſuch brothers as have been " once admitted into your ſociety, we forbid them to " quit it, or to enter into any other order under pre- " tence of greater regularity. And with regard to the de- " dication of your churches, the conſecration of your " altars, and the ordination of your clergy, you ſhall ap- " ply to the biſhop of the dioceſe, if he be in commu- " nion with the holy ſee, and will confer holy orders " gratis; but if not, you are authorized by the holy " ſee to chuſe any biſhop you ſhall ſee fit. Moreover, " we confirm anew all grants of lands and ſeignories " in the preſent poſſeſſion of your houſe, or which you " ſhall hereafter acquire on this ſide the ſea, or beyond " it, as well in Europe as in Aſia. In fine, (ſays A- " naſtaſius, directing his ſpeech to the great maſter,) " when it ſhall pleaſe God to take you to himſelf, " we ordain that your brother hoſpitallers ſhall have " full and entire liberty to elect your ſucceſſor, any " force or contrivance to the contrary whatſoever not- " withſtanding."

THOUGH this bull of pope Anaſtaſius was in the main only a confirmation of the privileges which his predeceſſors had already granted to the order of St. John, yet Foucher, then patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the other Latin biſhops of Paleſtine, reſolutely oppoſed theſe exemptions, which were ſo many diminutions of their juriſdiction and revenues.

OF all the eccleſiaſtical penalties inflicted by popes and biſhops upon ſinners, that of a general excommunication or interdict, though ſcarce ſo much as known in the primitive church, was at that time the moſt frequent. They made uſe of it againſt princes that were refractory to the church; the thunder bolt was levelled at their dominions; all their ſubjects were involved in the ſentence, and a multitude of innocent perſons ſuffered on account of a ſingle offender. The form and manner of executing this ſentence had nothing

thing in it but what was diſmal and even terrible. The altars were intirely ſtripp'd; the croſſes, the ſhrines for relicks, the images and ſtatues of the ſaints were laid flat upon the ground, and covered all over, to ſignify that it was a time of grief and mourning: The bells ceaſed to be rung, and were even taken down from the belfreys: No ſacrament was adminiſtred, but baptiſm to children newly born, and confeſſion and the communion as a viaticum to dying perſons: No maſs was ſaid in churches but with the doors ſhut; fleſh was prohibited, during the interdict, as much as in lent; and to ſuch a height was this rigour carried, that people were forbidden to greet one another, or be ſhaved, nor was it permitted to give the tonſor, or cut the hair of the prieſts or clergy.

BUT what is ſtill more deplorable is, that ſome popes and biſhops often employed theſe arms againſt kings and ſovereign princes, and for intereſts purely temporal. 'Twas one of the ſureſt inſtruments of their government. The people, frighted to ſee themſelves deprived of the outward exerciſe of religion, forced their ſovereigns, for fear of a general revolt, to ſubmit to the yoke. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and other Latin biſhops of the eaſt, bore impatiently, that whilſt the kings of Jeruſalem, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli, were not exempt from their juriſdiction in point of the interdict, the popes ſhould grant this privilege to the hoſpitallers. Theſe prelates too were not leſs aggrieved with the exemption from tythes, which they had ſeized after the conqueſt of the Holy Land, to the prejudice of the clergy of the Greek church.

THE natural deſire of preſerving great poſſeſſions, and defending their authority, motives which touch men to the quick, broke the union which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the ſecular clergy and the hoſpitallers. The biſhops could not bear to think, that the holy ſee had diſpenſed with the knights from paying them the tythe of all their poſſeſſions, and they extended this right and their pretenſions even to the booty that

might be gained from pillaging the camp and territories of the infidels. The privilege likeways which the hospitallers had obtained of saying or causing divine service to be said in their churches during the interdict, notwithstanding they did it with the doors shut, brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the secular clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Besides these general grievances, Foucher the patriarch complained of one particular relating to himself, viz. that the hospitallers, whose church and house stood near the church of the holy sepulchre, had erected more magnificent buildings than his own church and palace: The complaints were bitter on both sides; the one founded their claim on common right, the other pleaded their privileges in bar of that right. Invectives and abusive language succeeded these reciprocal complaints; and, what is not to be mentioned without concern, they proceeded at last to acts of violence. 'Tis said, that arrows were shot from the quarter of the hospitallers against the priests of the patriarch. These ecclesiasticks indeed did not return force for force; but out of a more refined sort of vengeance, they gathered up these arrows, tied them in a bundle, and, to preserve the memory of so odious an outrage, fixed them up at the entrance of the church of Calvary. William Archbishop of Tyre relates this fact as an eye-witness *; but that writer, though no way favourable to the hospitallers, owns at the same time, that the great master was reverenced as a good man that feared God: These are his very words. He adds, that the cause of these dissensions ought to be laid upon the popes, who had exempted these military friars from the episcopal jurisdiction.

THE patriarch, to obtain a repeal of these privileges, which were so odious to him, under-
1155. took the western voyage, though near an hundred years old, and resolved to go in person to pope Adrian IV. who was then upon the holy see.

* L. 17. c. 3. p. 932.

ſee. He was accompanied with Peter archbiſhop of Tyre the hiſtorian's predeceſſor, Baldwin archbiſhop of Ceſarea, Frederic biſhop of Acre, Amaury of Sidon, Conſtantine of Lydda, Renier of Sebaſte, and Herbert of Tiberias. The great maſter and council of the order ſent deputies alſo on their part, to anſwer the complaints of theſe prelates; and, if we may believe William archbiſhop of Tyre, theſe deputies had got the ſtart of the patriarch, and by great preſents had made the pope and whole court of Rome their friends. Foucher and the other biſhops of Paleſtine had audience of the pope at Ferento, a little town near Viterbo. This great affair was debated at ſeveral ſeſſions before the pope and the whole college of cardinals; and for the better maintaining of the rights of the parties, both ſides were allowed advocates and lawiers to plead for them. The biſhops complained that the hoſpitallers, abuſing their privileges, received excommunicate perſons into their churches, and in caſe of death gave them Chriſtian burial; that during the interdict laid upon the city, they had rung their bells, contrary to an expreſs clauſe in their privileges; that their church being near that of the holy ſepulchre, they ſet them continually a ringing whilſt the patriarch was preaching the word of God to the people, on purpoſe to hinder his being heard; and that they refuſed to pay tythe of their revenues in all the dioceſes of Paleſtine, where they had any lands and eſtates.

THE archbiſhop of Tyre, after relating all the complaints of the clergy, ſays nothing of the defence made by the hoſpitallers; he only gives us to underſtand, that they got the affair protracted; that by their preſents and intereſt in the court of Rome they kept the pope from giving judgment in it, and the patriarch and biſhops of Paleſtine, ſeeing plainly of themſelves, and having ſecret advice from their friends, that they ſhould never obtain any ſentence, took leave of the ſovereign pontiff, and returned home, ſays the hiſto-

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rian, loaded with confuſion. He adds,[a] that of all the cardinals there were but two ſo juſt and faithful to Jeſus Chriſt, as to declare themſelves in favour of the clergy; that the pope and all the reſt of them, corrupted by the preſents of the hoſpitallers, followed, ſays he[b], the ſteps of Balaam, ſon of Boſor; a compariſon certainly very odious, and the more ſo, becauſe of the two cardinals, that were, according to this author, ſo faithful to Jeſus Chriſt. For one of them was Octavian, who ſet himſelf up afterwards for antipope, by the name of Victor II. and cauſed a terrible ſchiſm and infinite miſchief to the church; and the other was John de Moriſon, cardinal of St. Martin, one of the miniſters of his ambition, and the principal abettor of the ſchiſm.

To juſtify entirely the memory of Adrian, we are indiſpenſibly obliged to obſerve, that 1156. this pontiff, one of the moſt diſintereſted popes that ever ſat upon the throne of St. Peter, far from enriching his family out of the treaſures of the holy ſee, gave not the leaſt ſhare of them to his relations; that he carried his diſintereſtedneſs even to an unwarrantable rigour; and though his mother, who ſurvived him, was reduced to extreme poverty, all that he did for her was, by his will to recommend her to the charity of the church of Canterbury. But if we may believe Boſio, his bare declaring in favour of the hoſpitallers was enough to draw upon him all the bitterneſs that flows, ſays he, from the pen of that partial hiſtorian.[c]

AFTER all, the patriarch of Jeruſalem and his hiſtorian could not but know, that the predeceſſors of Anaſtaſius had before this granted the hoſpitallers moſt of the privileges in queſtion, without any complaint ever being made of their being procured by bribery. But it

[a] l. 18. c. 8. [b] l. 18. c. 3.

[c] Nella narratione della qual iſtoria fu detto archiveſcovo di Tyro aggrava molto la mano addoſſo a gli hoſpitalieri, ſcrivendla in queſto particolare piu toſto come prelato et archiveſcovo orientale, et conſequentemente come intereſſato et appaſſianato, che come iſtorico. Boſio, l. 6. p. 197.

it is probable enough, that the popes being engaged in troubleſome wars, either againſt the emperors of the weſt, or the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and even againſt the inhabitants of Rome, were not unwilling to exempt the hoſpitallers and templars from the juriſdiction of their ordinaries, thereby to engage more particularly in their intereſts, ſo conſiderable a military body, whoſe power and riches were continually encreaſing in all parts of Chriſtendom.

I SHALL not take upon me to give an account of the ſeveral ſettlements, made in thoſe times in favour of the hoſpitallers of St. John: this would carry me too far. But I think myſelf obliged to obſerve, that part of the great revenues of the hoſpitallers and templars came chiefly from the princes, nobility and gentry, who, upon taking the habit and croſs of the two orders, gave them moſt of their great ſeigniories. Thus about that time Guy, count and ſovereign of Forcalquier, taking the croſs and habit of an hoſpitaller, gave to the order of St. John his caſtle of Manoſque, which contained ſuch conſiderable lands and ſeigniories, that they made a bailiwic of it afterwards, with the title of bailiff inſtead of commander. The Grandees of Spain did not come behind the French in theſe ſentiments of eſteem for the two military orders, and the hiſtorian of Arragon tells us, that about A. D. 1153, Don Pedro Dartal, the firſt baron of that kingdom, gave to the hoſpitallers and templars the city of Borgia, with its dependencies, which they exchanged afterwards with Raimond Berenger, prince of Arragon, for Dumbel, and the caſtles of Alberic and Cabanos.

THESE donations, ſo frequent at that time, will be leſs ſurprizing, if we conſider the admirable uſe that theſe military friars made of them. Out of all their great revenues, the hoſpitallers and templars had only a very frugal ſubſiſtence; the reſt was either dedicated to the maintenance of the poor, or employed in carrying on the war againſt the infidels.

YET theſe warriors, ſo fierce and terrible in the day of battle, were quite other men when they came back

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to their convent. Scarce had they laid aſide their arms, but they reſumed with the regular habit, all the exerciſes of their firſt profeſſion. Some applied themſelves to the ſervice of the ſick; others were taken up in entertaining the pilgrims; ſome cleaned their arms, or mended the accoutrements of their horſes; and all, in their reſpective employs, kept a religious ſilence, and ſeemed as reſerved and penſive as if they had been hermits and anchorets: a new manner of life, very rare and unknown till then, wherein, without being entirely confined to the cloiſter, or engaged in the world, they practiſed ſucceſſively all the virtues of two ſuch oppoſite conditions. This we learn from St. Bernard, a contemporary writer, who, in the deſcription which he has left us of the templars manner of life, has drawn a ſort of living picture of the military friars of thoſe times, ſuch an one as it is to be wiſhed their ſucceſſors had always before their eyes.

"THEY live together, ſays that holy abbot, in an "agreeable, but frugal manner; without wives or "children, or having any thing in property to themſelves, even ſo much as their own will. They are "never idle, nor rambling abroad; and when they "are not in the field marching againſt the infidels, "they are either fitting up their arms, and the harneſs of their horſes, or elſe employing themſelves "in pious exerciſes by order of their ſuperior. An "inſolent expreſſion, an immoderate laughter, the leaſt "murmur, does not paſs without a ſevere correction. "They deteſt cards and dice, they are never allowed "the diverſion of hunting, or uſeleſs viſits; they abo"minate all ſhows, drolleries, diſcourſes, or ſongs of a "looſe nature; they bathe but ſeldom, are generally "in an undreſs, their face burnt with the ſun, and "their look grave and ſolemn. When they are en"tering into an engagement, they arm themſelves "with faith within and ſteel without, having no or"naments either in their dreſs, or upon the accoutre"ments of their horſes; their arms are their only "finery, and they make uſe of them with courage,

"without

"without being daunted, either at the number or "force of the Barbarians; all their confidence is in the "God of hoſts; and in fighting for his cauſe they ſeek "a ſure victory, or a Chriſtian and honourable death."*

THE luſtre of their virtues, and the glory they acquired daily by their valour, raiſed a generous emulation among the nobility and gentry of Spain. We obſerved, at the beginning of this hiſtory, that the Moors in the eight century took the greateſt part of that kingdom from the Goths. 'Tis well known, that the Chriſtians which remained of that nation, flying from the perſecution of the infidels, retired at firſt into the mountains of the Aſturias, from whence they ſallied out afterwards, under the conduct of Pelagius, to defend their liberty and religion. That prince, by little and little, enlarged the bounds of his kingdom. His ſucceſſors were yet more proſperous; they recovered ſeveral provinces from the Moors; and theſe Chriſtian princes, who carried on the war in different quarters, to preſerve a recipocral independency among themſelves, erected theſe provinces over which they aſſumed a ſovereignty into ſo many kingdoms. Such is the original of the kingdoms of Leon, Caſtile, Navarre, Arragon, Portugal, Valentia, &c. The Moors too on their ſide had cantoned out their conquests, and we find among thoſe Barbarians the kings of Toledo, Cordova, Murcia and Granada. The one was every day in action againſt the other, and for ſeveral ages there was a continual war between them. Some Spaniſh gentlemen, in imatition of the templars and hoſpitallers, and for the defence of religion, formed hereupon ſeveral ſocieties and military orders, compoſed only of the nobility and gentry of that nation: of theſe the order of Calatrava is reckoned the moſt antient.

DON Sanchez, the third king of Caſtile, having won from the Moors the city of Calatrava, a ſtrong place and frontier of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Toledo, committed the government and defence of it to the

* St. Bernard exoratio ad milites templi.

the templars: but these knights having afterwards advice that the kings of the Moors had joined their forces to besiege it, and finding themselves too few to defend it, they delivered the place back again to the king.

SANCHEZ had need of all his forces to keep the field and make head against the Moors, who threatened at the same time to break into Castile. That prince in this distress declared, that if any one was able and brave enough to undertake the defence of Calatrava, he would give it him in property, to be held under the immediate sovereignty of his crown. But the formidable power of the Moors had so intimidated most of the grandees of his court, that there was not one who offered to throw himself into a place, which was going to have at the foot of its wall the whole forces of the infidels. The king was in utter despair of being able to save it, when a monk of the Cistertian order, professed in the abbey of Fitero in Navarre, called brother Diego Velasquez, who, before his profession, had served a long time as a soldier, proposed to his abbot Don Raimond, with whom he was come into Castile, to make the king an offer to sustain the siege with his own vassals, and at his own expence.

THE king, who was well informed of the riches of that abbot, and the reputation which Velasquez had formerly acquired in the army, accepted their offer, especially at a juncture when he had no other choice to make. The abbot and his monk returned with all possible expedition into Navarre, and brought back with them near twenty thousand men, most of them their own vassals or neighbouring Frenchmen that were willing to share in so generous an enterprize; and they were afterwards joined by several Castilian gentlemen; at the same time they supplied the place with provisions and ammunition, and this military colony added to the fortifications of the city a fort which covered it entirely.

'TWAS out of this body of Navarese and Castilian gentlemen, who threw themselves into Calatrava, that

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the military order of that name was afterwards formed, viz. A. D. 1158. From the ſame motive of making war againſt the Moors of Spain, there aroſe about A. D. 1175, a ſecond military order, dedicated to St. James of the ſword, and A. D. 1212, the order of Alcantara was inſtituted. Theſe three particular orders, confined to Spain, were diſtinguiſhed from one another by croſſes of different colours, but all equally terminated by flower de luces; a circumſtance which would make one imagine, that the Spaniards took theſe flowers from the arms of France, to preſerve the memory of thoſe ſuccours which the French had brought them from time to time in their wars againſt the infidels.

SUCH were the military friars in the firſt age of their inſtitution, which, in reſpect of them, may be reckoned the golden age of theſe orders. The hoſpitallers, templars, and Spaniſh knights, were diſtinguiſhed no leſs by a ſolid piety, than by their valour; but that bleſſed time did not laſt above an age: the man of war got inſenſibly the better of the monk; and valour, love of glory, and oftentimes the deſire of amaſſing wealth, made their devotion and piety flag inſenſibly. Ambition, and views of aggrandizing themſelves by particular conqueſts, began to infect theſe orders, tho' founded originally upon the vow of poverty. Out of this humane motive it was, that the hoſpitallers of Paleſtine refuſed a little before to undertake the defence of Paneas, unleſs Humphrey de Thoron, to whom the place belonged, would conſent to divide the property and revenues of it with them. That lord was forced to purchaſe the aſſiſtance of their arms with this condition; and it was not till after ſuch a ceſſion was made, that they prepared to march to the ſuccour of the place.

PANEAS, a city of Phœnicia, called formerly Ceſarea Philippi, and ſituated at the foot of mount Libanus, was a frontier of the principality of Damaſcus, of which Noradin, that formidable enemy of the Chriſtians, was the ſovereign. The hoſpitallers, having agreed upon their terms with Humphrey, loaded a great

number of horſes and camels with arms, ammunition and proviſions; all which ſet out from Jeruſalem under a numerous convoy, and advanced towards the city, the laſt of the kingdom on that ſide. Noradin having notice from his ſpies of the departure of the convoy, laid an ambuſh in the way, and when the hoſpitallers drew near to Paneas, they found themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides. However, they made a brave defence, and fought a long while with their uſual valour; but were forced to yield at laſt to ſuperior forces: they were bore down by the vaſt number of the infidels, favoured at the ſame time by the advantage of the poſt they had ſeized, and moſt of the hoſpitallers that went upon this expedition periſhed in it: nor was this defeat the laſt diſaſter that happened to the Chriſtians. Noradin, in hopes of finding the inhabitants in a conſternation at this loſs, laid ſiege to the place, and after a brisk and continual attack of ſome days, made himſelf maſter of the town. He then prepared to attack the caſtle, whither the inhabitants had retired; but having advice that the king of Jeruſalem was marching with great expedition to make him raiſe the ſiege, this infidel prince, who dreaded his valour, ſet fire to the city, and retired with precipitation. But he had not got far, before he entrenched himſelf in a craggy place, where he could not be forced, and from thence obſerved the march of the Chriſtian army. The king entered Paneas without oppoſition, repaired the confuſions which the enemy and the fire had cauſed, and putting troops and proviſions into the caſtle, ſet out upon his return for Jeruſalem. He marched with too much raſhneſs and ſecurity to be upon his guard, and had even ſent away his foot before him. Noradin quitted the place he had retired to, advanced into the country, and got before him without his having any notice of it; and having found a ſpot proper for an ambuſcade, waited at the paſſage, ſurprized him, and fell upon his troops, which were broken almoſt without fighting. All that they could do was to ſave the king, but moſt of the Chriſtian nobility

bility and officers were taken priſoners. The templars had no better ſucceſs upon this occaſion, than the hoſpitallers in the former action, and brother Bertrand de Blanchfort their great maſter, a pious and devout man, ſays William of Tyre, was taken priſoner with brother Odo, one of his knights and marſhal of the kingdom.

THE taking of the town of Paneas was the firſt fruit of the victory of the infidels. They entered it a ſecond time without much difficulty, but miſcarried before the caſtle, a place well fortified, and into which the garriſon of the town and the inhabitants had retired. As I relate theſe different events no farther than I am obliged by the ſhare the military order, whoſe hiſtory I write, had in them, I ſhall not dwell on what paſſed in Syria during the reſt of the year; and ſhall only obſerve, that Noradin, always on the watch to extend his conqueſts, took the field early the year following, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Sueta or Czueta, an ancient city, as it is ſaid, of the country of Hus. The Latin Chriſtians had carefully fortified this place, which was ſituated in the ſtraits of the mountains, and opened an eaſy paſſage into the plains of Damaſcus.

THE king of Jeruſalem, who knew the importance of this fort, immediately aſſembled all his troops, and ſupported by a good body of cavalry, brought him by Thierry count of Flanders his brother-in-law, he reſolved to try again the fortune of war, rather than let a place of ſuch conſequence be loſt. The Chriſtian army advanced on the ſide of the mountains, and had no difficulty to find the enemy, Noradin by the advice of Siracon his general chuſing rather to draw his troops out of their lines than let himſelf be attacked in his camp. He marched up to meet the 1148. Chriſtians, and gave them battle in the plains of Putaha. The armies ſoon engaged. The ſoldiers on both ſides as it were in concert, without ſhooting an arrow, and contrary to the practice of thoſe times, advanced fiercely ſword in hand. The king at the head of the principal lords of his kingdom, and followed by

military orders, in which the ſtrength of his army lay, charged the enemy firſt, drove all before him that ſtood in his way, and had the leſs trouble to break that firſt body, becauſe the Turcomans uſually put their worſt troops in the vanguard. But after this firſt trial of each other's force, Siracon appeared at the head of a new line, compoſed of old ſoldiers; he rallied the fugitives and reſtored the battle. Upon this occaſion the Chriſtians and infidels made extraordinary efforts, and both of them, ſupported by the view and example of their ſovereigns and generals, fought a long while with equal fury, without either ſide's giving way, or the leaſt appearance of fear and terror. No ſooner was one ſoldier killed than another ſtep'd up in his place, and whatever danger there was in the firſt ranks, every one was preſſing to get thither: never was there ſeen ſo furious and bloody a battle. The Chriſtians, enraged to find ſo long a reſiſtance, and animated by the generous reproaches of their officers, made a freſh effort, and as if they had received a new reinforcement, flung themſelves in ſo reſolute a manner into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions, that the infidels, not able any longer to ſupport this laſt charge, were obliged to retire and give ground, tho' ſtill in good order and keeping their ranks. But the king of Jeruſalem and the count of Flanders, coming up at the head of a large body of cavalry, during this motion which the enemy was forced to make, obliged them to fly outright and disband entirely. More than 6000 ſoldiers on the infidels ſide lay dead upon the place, beſides the wounded and priſoners. All the honour of the day was juſtly aſcribed to the king, a young prince of excellent valour. His courage multiplied him, as we may ſay, on ſuch occaſions, and particularly in this laſt battle; he was ſeen almoſt at the ſame time in different places, and in every one where the danger was greateſt, and his preſence neceſſary.

'Tis not known whether the great maſter of the hoſpitallers was in this action: his age probably excuſed him from it, he being above fourſcore years old.

The

The venerable old man, covered with wounds, and worn out with years, had withdrawn himſelf to the houſe of the hoſpitallers of St. John at Jeruſalem. There in a profound retirement, amidſt ſerious reflections, and in continual exerciſes of piety, this genuine ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt prepared himſelf for the great day that is ſo terrible even to the holieſt monks. He ſaw at laſt that dreadful moment arrive which decides the fate of an eternity: but if he ſaw its approaches with a wholeſome fear, it was alſo with the filial confidence of a true chriſtian, who had expoſed his life a thouſand times in defence of the holy places, where the author of life himſelf vouchafed to die for the ſalvation of man. Thus ended his days in the arms of his brethren, Raimond Dupuy, the firſt of the military great maſters, much greater by his ſolid piety and rare valour, than by his dignity, and ſuch as we may compare at the ſame time to the holieſt founders of regular orders, and the greateſt generals of that age. The hoſpitallers, and indeed all the Latin Chriſtians of the eaſt, who had been witneſſes of his virtues, anticipating his canonization, revered him as of the number of the bleſſed; a title which poſterity confirmed to him.

The end of the firſt Book.

30285

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK II.

AS ſoon as the hoſpitallers had paid their laſt duties to the great maſter, they aſſembled for the choice of his ſucceſſor. Brother Auger de Balben was propoſed to fill that great poſt. The diſintereſtedneſs, modeſty and humility [a] which reigned in that firſt age of the order, prevented the putting up of any competitor: Balben was elected with the acclamations and concurrent ſuffrages of all the chapter.

AUGER DE BALBEN.

He was a French gentleman, of the province of Dauphine, an old comrade in war of Raimond Dupuy's, of a great age, reverenced in the order for

[a] Ad hoc etiam milites templi Hieroſolymitani, ac fratres de hoſpitali, ſub religioſo habitu continenter vigentes, ubique ſe multiplicando in religioſitate ſe defendebant. Chron. Guil. de Nangis ad ann. 1131.

for his piety and prudence, and of great weight for his advice in the king's council.

HISTORY affords us a proof of it on occaſion of the ſchiſm raiſed in the church upon the death of pope Adrian IV. Cardinal Roland, chancellor of the church of Rome, had been raiſed to the chair of St. Peter by the votes of the greateſt part of the cardinals, and had merited this advancement by his piety and great experience in the government of the church, wherein he had always had a great ſhare. He took the name of Alexander III. yet in oppoſition to this canonical election, cardinal Octavian, hurried away by his ambition, and ſupported by moſt of the ſenators and grandees of Rome, who were his relations, had cauſed himſelf to be declared pope, by the name of Victor III. by John de Morſon cardinal of St. Martin, and Guy de Crema cardinal of St. Calixtus. The emperor, who, in his diſputes with the court of Rome, had experienced the ſteady and reſolute diſpoſition of cardinal Roland, favoured the intruſion of the antipope; the kings of France, England, Naples and Sicily declared themſelves for Alexander. This competition divided the whole church, and produced the fatal ſchiſm we are ſpeaking of.

THE pope, deſirous to be acknowledged by the Latin church of the eaſt, ſent John, cardinal prieſt of St. John and St. Paul, thither as his legate. Some Genoeſe veſſels carried the legate into Phœnicia, and he landed at Gibyle formerly called Gebal. He immediately diſpatched a copy of his powers to the king, and requeſted that prince's permiſſion to exerciſe his legatine authority throughout the kingdom.
But as the opinions of the council were divid- 1160.
ed, the king ſent him word to ſtay at Gibyle,
till he was better informed of what had paſſed
in the election of the two pretenders. In the 1161.
mean time a council was called at Nazareth,
at which were preſent Amaury patriarch of Jeruſalem,
Peter archbiſhop of Tyre, all the biſhops of Paleſtine,
and the grand maſters of the two military orders. The

king

king too thought proper to be there, together with his council and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

THE buſineſs of the council was to determine which of the popes ſhould be acknowledged in Paleſtine. The opinions were divided; ſome declared in favour of Alexander, others preferred the antipope; and beſides divers facts alledged to juſtify the canonicalneſs of his election, they repreſented, that this cardinal, in Adrian's lifetime, had, upon all occaſions, with great zeal, defended the intereſts of the church and clergy of Paleſtine. But the reader may ſee in the former book, that this pretended zeal conſiſted only in his declaring againſt the hoſpitallers, in concert with the cardinal of St. Martin, at the aſſembly of Ferento.

THIS was the chief motive which engaged ſome biſhops to favour Octavian. The king, who was afraid that this diverſity of ſentiments might occaſion a ſchiſm in his dominions, ſtarted a third opinion. He propoſed to the fathers of the council not to declare for either of the pretenders, till the church had decided the queſtion in a general council; that however, in conſideration of the legate's merit, they ſhould allow him to come to Jeruſalem, make his ſtations there, and viſit the holy places, but only as a private man, and without exerciſing any act of his legatine power.

"THE ſchiſm (ſays he, according to William of "Tyre) is but beginning; we do not yet know clear- "ly enough which ſide has the better right. Why "then ſhould we make ſo haſty a determination in an "affair of ſuch mighty importance? Beſides, (adds "the prince) what need has the church of Paleſtine of "a legate, an officer of the court of Rome? Do not "we know, that ſuch perſons never enter a kingdom "without ruining the churches and monaſteries by their "exactions? And can a ſtate, exhauſted by continu- "al wars, which muſt be maintained againſt the infi- "dels, furniſh ſuch immenſe ſums as they exact, un- "der colour of defraying the neceſſary expences of "their legation."

A MOTIVE

A MOTIVE ſo preſſing, in which the clergy were particularly intereſted, and ſupported by a prince whom all men honoured for his great qualities, drew moſt of the biſhops over to his opinion: and it would have paſſed unanimouſly, if the archbiſhop of Tyre, ſeconded by the great maſter, had not generouſly oppoſed it.[a] The archbiſhop repreſented with great force, that Alexander's election was canonical, and made with the conſent of the ſoundeſt part of the clergy and people of Rome; that the diſturbance which an ambitious cardinal raiſed in the church could in noways excuſe the faithful from the actual obedience which all Chriſtians owed to the lawful vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; that the way of ſuſpenſion on this occaſion was no ſecurity to their conſciences; and that for his part, he was reſolved to adhere to a pope, in whoſe election the votes of moſt of the cardinals and the wiſhes of all good men concurred. In a word, this prelate ſpoke with ſo much zeal and reſolution, that he brought the king over to his opinion. The legate was admitted into the kingdom; but he had not long exerciſed his functions there, and exacted the dues of his legatine office, but he became a charge to thoſe very perſons who had from the firſt ſhewn the greateſt eagerneſs of his reception: theſe are the very words of William archbiſhop of Tyre.

THE patriarch of Jeruſalem wrote in his own name and in that of his ſuffragans to pope Alexander, to acquaint him with what had paſſed in his favour in the ſynod of Nazareth. "Being informed, ſays he in his "letter to him, that your election was made by an "unanimous concurrence of the clergy and people, "we have allowed and approved of it; and in con"ſequence thereof, have excommunicated Octavian, "with the two cardinals John and Guy, and their a"bettors, and have unanimouſly made choice of, and "received you for our temporal lord and ſpiritual fa"ther." I make no queſtion but it will appear aſtoniſhing to ſee this patriarch, even in the king's preſence,

[a] Boſio lib. 6.

ſence, give the pope the title of temporal lord; but it will be leſs ſurpriſing, if we conſider, that the court of Rome had formerly endeavoured* to make it paſs for a maxim, that all the conqueſts which the Chriſtians had gained over the infidels, and all iſlands, eſpecially where Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed, belonged of right to the holy ſee; that the popes were the ſupreme ſovereigns of them, and that other princes enjoyed them only by a title of ſuzerainete, or ſubaltern ſovereignty. 'Tis well enough known what regard is paid now a days to theſe ultramontain pretenſions.

IF we may believe Boſio, all the hoſpitallers, by their adherence to the holy ſee, had a great hand in the ready obedience that the church of Paleſtine paid to Alexander III.

THE grand maſter of this order was not leſs ſufficient or leſs ſucceſsful in terminating a famous difference that roſe not long after in the kingdom about the nature of the government. King Baldwin III. being poiſoned at the age of thirty three, and after a reign of twenty years, by a Jewiſh or Arabian phyſician, Noradin's miniſters and commanders adviſed him to improve the opportunity and invade Paleſtine. "God "forbid, replied that generous prince, that I ſhould "take advantage of the misfortune of the Chriſtians, "from whom, after the death of ſo great a prince, I "have nothing more to fear."

BALDWIN dying without children, the ſucceſſion, according to the eſtabliſhed uſage ever ſince the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, deſcended upon prince Amaury his brother. But ſome great lords, who ſecretly aſpired to the throne of Jeruſalem, maintained, from the very example of Godfrey de Bouillon, that the crown was entirely elective. They added, that if his ſucceſſors had inherited it, it was not ſo much in virtue of their birthright, as by reaſon of the opinion men had of their valour,

Feb. 1163

* Ep. Urb. II. apud Ughel. l. 3. p. 423. Ep. Adrian IV. Tom. 10. Concil. edit. Coſſart. p. 1144. Joan de Salisbery metalog. 4. c. ult. Matt. Paris ad an. 1155.

lour, and by way of acknowledgment for the important ſervices they had done the ſtate; in a word, that the crown ought to be only the price and recompence of merit and valour.

SEVERAL gentlemen, without having ſuch high pretenſions as theſe great lords, did yet adhere to their party out of the fear that had been inſtilled into them of young Amaury's government,[a] a prince indeed of great courage, bold, enterprizing, and even of a ſuperior genius; but proud, haughty, preſumptuous, the ordinary foibles of youth; and, what was more ſurprizing at his age, covetous, and ſuſpected of thinking no means unjuſt that could contribute to ſwell his exchequer.

YET this prince was not without his partiſans: all the gentry and military men, who had received favours from his family, were inviolably attatched to him. The clergy and people, who honoured the memory of the kings Fulk and Baldwin, declared openly for Amaury. Beſides, as he was poſſeſſed of the counties of Jaffa and Aſcalon, by way of appanage, he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and that of the great lords began to decline and leſſen every day through the diverſity and competition of their intereſts and pretenſions.

HOWEVER, both parties made preparations for war, and it looked as if this great diſpute could have been determined no other way than by force; but moſt of the good men, who foreſaw with grief the diſmal conſequences of a civil war, laboured and interpoſed for an accommodation. The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers had the principal ſhare in it. That wiſe old man, ſtill more venerable for his virtue than his age, repreſented to thoſe grandees, who were moſt jealous and fond of their pretenſions, that the diviſion they were raiſing in the kingdom tended directly to open the gates of Jeruſalem to the Sarazens or Turcomans; that the crown which they refuſed to put upon Amaury's head would infallibly paſs upon that of Noradin, or

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 11.

or the caliph of Egypt: "And if this misfortune happens, says he to them, what will become of you? you'll be the slaves of infidels and the contempt of Christians; you will be looked upon as traitors and Judas's, who have delivered the saviour of the world a second time into the hands of his enemies." The grand master by such discourses calmed the storm, and brought these lords insensibly over to the prince's party; and after some negociations, wherein each malecontent took care of his private interest, they went all in a body to assure Amaury of their submission. That prince was afterwards crowned in the church of the holy sepulchre the 18. February A. D. 1163, and all the estates of the kingdom solemnly took the oath of fidelity to him.

1163.

THE grand master, worn out with years, did not long survive that august ceremony, which might be considered as his own work. He had governed his order scarce two years, when death carried him off; but after contributing so successfully to the peace of church and state, he had lived long enough to die with glory.

ARNAUD DE COMPS.

THE hospitallers chose in his stead brother Arnaud de Comps, a knight of an illustrious family in the province of Dauphine, who was not at all younger than his predecessor. Scarce had this new grand master taken possession of his dignity, when he was obliged to advance towards the frontiers at the head of the hospitallers. The business was to oppose some fresh incursions of the Sarazens. We have observed, that after king Baldwin III. had taken Ascalon, the caliph called Elfeis, to save himself from the continual inroads that the garrisons of that place and Gaza made upon his frontiers, had submitted to pay the kings of Jerusalem certain sums by way of contribution. But the caliph Adhed, successor to Elfeis, or rather Schaours or Sannar, who, by the title of sultan, governed the state with an absolute authority, refused openly to pay that sort of tribute any longer; and to break a treaty scandalous to his nation in the most publick manner,

manner, he put himſelf at the head of a great body of troops, and ravaged in his turn the frontiers of Judea.

AMAURY,[a] burning with impatience to revenge this infraction of the treaty, aſſembles his forces, ſummons the nobility, gentry, and two military orders, and advances with great expedition to repulſe the enemy. Both ſides were preparing for a bloody war, when there aroſe diſturbances and civil wars in Egypt, that obliged the ſultan to abandon the frontier, and lead his troops back into the kingdom. But the king of Jeruſalem could make no advantage of this precipitate retreat.

To underſtand this point of hiſtory, it is neceſſary to call to mind, what was ſaid in the firſt book of this work; that after the death of Mahomet, there roſe up in that ſect, and even in the falſe prophet's family, ſeveral princes, chiefs of different dynaſties, who, by the name of caliphs, pretended to be heirs to Mahomet's dominions, and the true interpreters of his law: and under this pretext, and to keep their ſubjects in obedience, they had publiſhed different commentaries and explanations of the alcoran, in many points contrary and oppoſite to one another. Abulabbas, ſurnamed Saffa, one of Mahomet's grandſons, or at leaſt deſcended of the ſame family, having been proclaimed caliph, was the founder of the dynaſty of the Abaſſides, which ſettled at Bagdat. There were thirty ſeven caliphs of this family, who ſucceeded one another without interruption, and were acknowleged by all the Mahometans of Aſia, and particularly by the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race, for the rightful ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

ABOUT A. D. 908,[b] the dynaſty of the Fathimites, i. e. of the princes who pretended to de-
Hegir. 296. ſcend in a direct line from Aly, and Fatima, Mahomet's daughter, began in Africa; and ſixty four years after, the caliph Moez le Dinillah entered Egypt, ſubdued it, cauſed the doctrine of Aly to be received for the only orthodox doc-

K trine,

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 5. [b] Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 20.

trine, and forbad the obſervance of that of Omar, and the Abaſſidian caliphs that reſided at Bagdat, againſt whom this prince and his ſucceſſors, 'till the time of Adhed that we are ſpeaking of, kept up a continual ſchiſm.

THIS variety of ſentiments in the explanation of the alcoran, theſe diſputes and ſchiſms, and eſpecially their genealogies, which were moſt of them fabulous, were invented by theſe princes only to impoſe upon the people, and juſtify their uſurpations; but ſuch as were well ſettled in their governments laughed at them. Thus one Thabetheba having asked the caliph Moez, what branch of the houſe of Aly he was deſcended from? the prince, who was then at the head of a mighty army, drew his ſabre out of the ſcabbard, and brandiſhing it before his eyes, "See "here, ſays he, my father, my mother, and my an-"ceſtors; and throwing handfuls of gold to his ſoldi-"ers, ſee there, adds he, my children and all my po-"ſterity."

BUT the deſcendants of Moez, grown effeminate by luxury and pleaſures, abandoned inſenſibly the government of the kingdom and the command of the armies to a firſt miniſter, who, under the title of ſultan, like our old maires of the palace, governed with an abſolute power. Theſe miniſters, who at firſt had the ſovereign authority only in truſt, ſoon made themſelves independent; they kept the caliphs confined in the middle of a palace, amidſt a troop of women and eunuchs, and fettered as it were in pleaſures. They left them only ſome appearances of ſovereignty; the money ſtill bore their ſtamp; they were named firſt in the public prayers; the ſultan too was obliged to receive the inveſtiture, and enſigns of his dignity from the hand of the caliph: but theſe prerogatives went no farther than mere ceremony. The caliphs durſt not deny the commiſſion of ſultan to any of their ſubjects that proved the ſtrongeſt. And theſe princes were ſo unhappy, that whilſt they were neceſſitated to receive

ceive a maſter, they had not ſo much as the choice of their tyrants.

SANNAR or Savar, whom we have juſt mentioned, was then inveſted with the dignity and authority of ſultan in Egypt. This miniſter, at the very time that he was preparing to attack the Chriſtians, ſaw himſelf on a ſudden ſtripped of his dignity by a powerful faction formed againſt him. A Sarazen his enemy, and ring-leader of the conſpiracy, called d'Hargan, taking his poſt, and the command of the ar- 1163. my, advanced out of hand againſt the king of Jeruſalem; they came to an engagement; the Egyptians, half naked, and moſt of them without any arms but their bows and arrows, did not long reſiſt the cavalry of Amaury; particularly the knights of St. John and the templars, who were armed cap-a-pee. Theſe warriors, who formed ſquadrons truly formidable, ſoon broke the battalions of the infidels. The Egyptian army all disbanded after the firſt diſcharge; the king of Jeruſalem remained maſter of the field, and took abundance of priſoners: his ſoldiers enriched themſelves with the booty, and his majeſty immediately marched forward with great expedition, and filled thoſe large provinces with the terror of his arms, and the dread of his name,

D'HARGAN, who had no troops to oppoſe him, had recourſe to a remedy almoſt as dangerous the evil he deſigned to avoid. To ſtop the torrent, and gain time to ſend for troops from the higher Egypt, he broke down the banks of the Nile, and drowned the country. But when he thought himſelf ſecured againſt the Chriſtians, he was ſurprized by a new enemy no leſs formidable than the king of Jeruſalem.

SANNAR, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of his dignity, had taken refuge at the court of Noradin, ſultan of Aleppo; and to obtain the neceſſary ſuccours for his reſtauration, he offered, in caſe he got the better of his competitor, to make himſelf his vaſſal, and to give him every year the third part of the revenue of Egypt. Noradin, as great a politician as he was a ſoldier,

fancied these civil wars would afford him a proper opportunity and means to make himself master of that great kingdom; besides, that being devoted to the sect and interests of the Abassidian caliphs of Bagdat, he thought religion would be indebted to him if he could extinguish the schism by destroying the government of the Fathimites, whom the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race treated as hereticks. With this view he received Sannar very favourably, and after the treaty was signed, levied a great body of troops, which, though seemingly under the command of the Egyptian, were in fact governed by Schirgovich or Siracon, a Curde by nation, the first of Noradin's captains, and one whom he trusted with his most secret intentions.

D'HARGAN having notice of this negociation of his competitor, and of his preparing to enter Egypt at the head of Noradin's army, and not finding himself strong enough to make head at the same time against the Christians of Palestine and the Turcomans of Syria, sued for peace of Amaury. That prince would not grant it him, but upon condition of paying the tribute which had been the occasion of the war; besides which, he demanded a large sum of money for the charges of his armament. The sultan agreed to every thing, thinking that, at so unhappy a juncture, he could not pay too dear for peace, or at least for time to get clear of the enemy that appeared to him the most formidable of the two. He marched afterwards against his rival. The Turcomans and Egyptians soon met: d'Hargan was defeated: he died in the battle, or after it, by the treason of one of his officers; and Sannar, the old sultan, was re-instated in his dignity: every thing submitted to his power; he rewarded his creatures, he put his enemies to death, and having no further need of Noradin's assistance, he forgot the condition on which he had obtained it, or perhaps imagined that he was freed from the performance of it by his victory. This was the ground of a new war. The Turcoman general receiving positive orders from his master to revenge the Egyptian's ingratitude, immediately turned his

his arms againſt him, and ſeized on Belbeis, formerly Peluſium, and Alexandria. Sannar applied to the king of Jeruſalem, and to engage him in his intereſt, promiſed that prince a conſiderable ſum, beſides an augmentation of the tribute which his predeceſſor had ſubmitted to. Upon receiving the money, the king ſigned the treaty, and ſent one of his officers, called Hugh of Cæſarea, to get it ratified by the caliph. This knight being conducted to an audience of the caliph, preſented him the treaty, which that prince ratified; but it was only for form ſake. Hugh required, that according to the example of the king his maſter, he ſhould take him by the hand. The caliph, who had nothing left of all the rights of ſovereignty but the ceremonial, affected a great ſcruple with regard to the taking a Chriſtian by the naked hand, and therefore covered his own. But the Chriſtian knight reſenting a precaution which bordered upon contempt; "Sir, (ſays he briskly to him) "our treaty ought to be ſincere on both ſides, and "executed with the ſame ceremonies. The king my "maſter when he ratified it, gave his bare hand to "your embaſſadors, and I ſhall not accept your ratifi-"cation, unleſs it be made with the ſame formalities." The caliph was obliged to uncover his hand, and give it to the embaſſador. Amaury, purſuant to his treaty, marched to the ſultan's aſſiſtance, joined him, beat Siracon, and purſued him to Belbeis, whither he had retired after his defeat, and forced him, after ſome days ſiege, to ſurrender the place to him. 1166.

THIS prince the year following beſieged and took Alexandria. Young Salahebdin, Siracon's nephew, was in the city, with the greateſt part of Noradin's army. He was a young ſoldier of fortune, who had at firſt nothing to recommend him but the intereſt and power of his uncle; but he ſoon gained the eſteem of the ſoldiery by his courage and liberality. He is ſaid to have been very looſe in his morals, but the deſire of raiſing himſelf, and the love of glory, ſoon got the better of that of pleaſure, and in a ſhort time he be-

came a great commander. This young governor defended himſelf a long time, and with great valour. He made frequent ſallies: every day afforded ſome new action; and after a ſiege of three months, Amaury was ſcarce farther advanced than the firſt day. But the perſon, whom he could not ſubdue by force of arms, was vanquiſhed at laſt by ſcarcity and famine; and Saladin, for want of ſupply and ammunition, was reduced to the unhappy neceſſity of opening its gates to the enemy. This young Mahometan, as he was marching out of Alexandria at the head of his garriſon, ſeeing Humfrey de Thoron, conſtable of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and charmed with the bravery he had ſhewn during the whole ſiege, is reported to have addreſſed himſelf to that Chriſtian lord,[a] and to have deſired him, as the gallanteſt knight he knew, to do him the honour of knighting him with his own hand; which the conſtable, by the king's permiſſion, conſented to, and performed with all the marks of eſteem and conſideration due to his valour, and the noble defence he had made during the ſiege.

SANNAR, at laſt maſter of Egypt, and rid of the Syrians, had nothing to do but to ſend the king of Jeruſalem back into his own dominions; and that he might not draw upon himſelf his arms and reſentment, as he had done thoſe of Siracon, he made the Chriſtian monarch abundance of magnificent preſents. His principal officers too received from him gifts of various ſorts: proviſions by his order were brought from all quarters to the army; and Amaury return-
1167. ed to his dominions loaden with glory; but he ſullied it afterwards by an enterprize, in which the hoſpitallers unhappily had but too great a ſhare.

THAT prince, born with great views, but of a fiery and reſtleſs ambition, was, after his return from Egypt, continually reflecting upon the greatneſs of that kingdom, the number and riches of its inhabitants, its fleets and the convenience of its ports; and he was thoroughly perſuaded, that it would be very difficult for

[a] See Chron. Will. de Nangis.

for the Latins to preſerve the holy places, if ever there ſhould be a warlike caliph or ſultan at the head of a kingdom ſo powerful and ſo near to Paleſtine, and that ſooner or later the Holy Land would again become a province of Egypt, as it had been before the conqueſt of Godfrey of Bouillon. Full of theſe reflections, and poſſeſſed with a notion of the little courage he had ſeen in that nation, he concluded, that he could not eſtabliſh his own government and that of his ſucceſſors better than by making himſelf maſter of that potent kingdom: and as a thirſt after riches was always his domineering paſſion, he had already in his own mind ſeized the caliph and ſultan's treaſures; and he flattered himſelf, that though he ſhould not be able to make an entire conqueſt of that ſtate, yet he ſhould at leaſt carry off part of its riches, by plundering the towns, and raiſing contributions as far as the moſt diſtant provinces.

BUT as his forces, with regard to ſo great an enterprize, were in no reſpect anſwerable to his ambitious views; as he wanted troops and money to raiſe them, and was even deſtitute of a fleet to block up the ports of Egypt; he addreſſed himſelf to Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Conſtantinople, propoſed a league, and invited him to join in the conqueſt, and divide the kingdom between them. William of Tyre[a], author of the hiſtory of the Latin kingdom of Jeruſalem, was charged with this negociation. He was born in the country, but his anceſtors are ſaid to have been natives of France. He was archdeacon of Tyre, and Amaury afterwards made him preceptor to young Baldwin his ſon. From this employ he roſe to the dignity of chancellor, and about A. D. 1174, was choſen archbiſhop of Tyre. He was only archdeacon of that church when he was ſent ambaſſador to Conſtantinople. The Greek emperor ſeemed no way averſe to the propoſal made him by the embaſſador, and after ſome conferences a treaty was ſigned. 'Twas in purſuance

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 4.

purſuance of this treaty, that Contoſtephanus put to ſea with the troops ſtipulated for.

AMAURY, aſſured of a fleet, thought only of increaſing his army by land: he communicated his deſign to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, who, by his character, and complaiſance had a great ſhare in the confidence of that prince. The grand maſter's name was Gilbert d'Aſſalit, or De Sailly; he had lately ſucceeded to Arnaud de Comps. The king repreſented to him, that having Barbarians for their neighbours, a people inured to robberies, and whoſe faith was never to be depended on, nothing but pure force, and ſuch a ſuperiority as might be acquired by conqueſts, could ſerve for a barrier againſt their inroads, and ſecure the frontiers of the kingdom from their enterprizes: that therefore he was reſolved to invade Egypt, and make himſelf maſter of ſome conſiderable place there, which might hinder them from ever penetrating into Paleſtine. The grand maſter, either out of complaiſance, or puſhed on by his courage, entered warmly into all the king's deſigns. He was in truth a man of great valour, bold and enterprizing, but of an extravagant genius, and very capable of being impoſed on by hopes that often had no foundation. He applauded the king for the boldneſs of a project, which, he ſaid, was ſuitable to the greatneſs of his courage; and expreſſed his great ſenſe of the honour the prince did him, in allowing him to act a part in it. But though the grand maſter was at the head of a ſtrong body of warriors, his authority was under the reſtraint of a council, which, in all their undertakings, were determined by the fixed plan of their rule and ſtatutes; and whatever impatience the grand maſter had to enter upon action, he began to fear the hoſpitallers would ſcruple engaging in an expedition which had no direct tendency to the defence of the holy places, and the ſecurity of pilgrims and the Chriſtian world.

GILBERT D'ASSALIT.

THE king and the grand maſter had ſeveral conferences upon this ſubject. The grand maſter repreſented

ſented to the king, that to engage the whole order in an enterprize of ſuch conſiderable expence, he muſt intereſt the council in it by the hopes of a ſolid recompence, and ſuch as would make ample amends for all the ſums they ſhould advance; and accordingly they agreed, that if the Chriſtian army could take the city of Belbeis, formerly called Peluſium, the king ſhould grant it in property to the order. The grand maſter communicated this propoſal to the council of the order; he laid before them the importance of the place, and all the advantage the order might draw from ſuch a conqueſt, eſpecially in caſe the Turcomans, who every day became more and more formidable, ſhould make themſelves maſters of Paleſtine: for then, he ſaid, the order might transfer its reſidence to that place, from whence it would not be difficult, in ſome more favourable juncture, to enter again into the Holy Land, and drive the barbarians out in their turn.

THE ſenior hoſpitallers, men who to a nicety of honour joined a ſcrupulous obſervance of their rule, urged that they were a religious order, and that the church had not put arms into their hands to make conqueſts: that they had no right to uſe them at all, but for the defence of the Holy Land: beſides, that they could not invade a nation, though an infidel one, which relied upon the faith of a treaty of peace juſt ſigned before.

BUT others, ſome of them friends to the grand maſter, and ſome gained over by the king himſelf, declared for war. They maintained, that what treaties ſoever had been made formerly, either with the Turcomans or Sarazens, thoſe infidels had always broken them, when they had any proſpect of being able to ſurprize the Chriſtians; that they had not obſerved the laſt treaty more faithfully than the former, and that poſitive advice had been brought, that their garriſons were continually making inroads upon the frontier, and particularly that one of their parties had lately carried off ſome peaſants of the country who truſted to the faith of the laſt treaty. Whether this complaint

was

was really true, or only a pretence, it was carried by a plurality of voices in the council for war, and resolved, that in case the king made an attempt to conquer Egypt, the grand master should follow him in that expedition, at the head of all the troops he could levy: And to raise the necessary supplies for this armament, they gave him a full power to borrow money of the banks of Florence and Genoa.

NICETAS, in the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, says, that his imperial majesty, to contribute his share towards it, made considerable remittances to the grand master by Theodorus Maurozumus; and it was probably to get a sum of money from the king of France that he likeways wrote to that prince.

ASSALIT, with this money, levied a great body of troops which he listed into the pay of the order; and as his fancy was entirely taken up with flattering hopes of conquests, by his indiscreet liberalities, he drew a great number of volunteers into his service, who, like him, shared already in imagination all the riches of Egypt. The king was mightily pleased with the zeal he shewed for the success of his enterprize. That
1168. prince flattered himself with the thoughts of having a succour every way as considerable from the templars; but they flatly refused being concerned in the affair, either because they would not appear in the field with forces inferior to those of the hospitallers; or, as they gave out themselves, because they looked upon the war as unjust, it being begun without any previous declaration by an herald: A sure maxim indeed, but little minded by princes, who have more regard to their own interest, than to the sacredness of an oath [a].

AMAURY,

[a] Fratres autem militiæ templi eidem se subducentes facto, aut quia eis contra conscientiam suam videbatur, aut quia magister æmulæ domus, hujus rei auctor et princeps videbatur, vires penitus ministrare, aut regem sequi negavèrunt; durum enim videbatur eis, amico regno et de nostro fide præsumenti, contra tenorem pactorum, et contra juris religionem, immeritis et fidem servantibus bellum indicere. Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 5.

AMAURY, attended by the grand maſter, took the field at the head of his army, the moſt numerous that for a long time had marched out of Paleſtine. That prince, in leſs than ten days time, paſſed the deſert that divides Paleſtine from Egypt, and inveſted Belbeis, ſummoning the inhabitants to open their gates to him. This town was ſeated on the banks of the Nile, on the right ſide of the river towards Paleſtine. Mahazan, ſon to the ſultan Sannar, and one of his nephews, who commanded then in the place, ſent him word, that they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee a prince appear under their walls as an enemy, from whom the caliph and ſultan had lately received ſuccours of the greateſt ſervice to them, and with whom Egypt had but juſt before made a ſolemn treaty of peace. Amaury was for laying the cauſe of his taking arms on ſome incurſions of the Sarazens; but they were diſavowed. Mahazin too maintained, that they could not prove that ever any ſoldier of his father's had, ſince the laſt treaty, ſet foot in the Chriſtian territories; but as force ſupplies the place of reaſon with moſt ſovereigns, Amaury thought himſelf too powerful to give ear to the reaſons of the infidels; and upon their refuſal, it was viſible nothing but arms could decide the fate of the beſieged.

THE town was fortified by all the methods which art had at that time invented, but more ſo by the number of its inhabitants, who had all taken arms for the defence of their country, and, what is ſtill more, againſt the enemies of their religion. Amaury, fearing the length and uncertainty of a ſiege, reſolved firſt to try a ſcalado: He was two days preparing ladders and machines neceſſary for his enterprize. Scarce had the dawn of the third day appeared, when the town was ſurrounded by the whole army in battalia; the inhabitants on their ſide lined the walls, armed with arrows, darts, ſtones and artificial fireworks. No ſooner were the ladders brought near the walls, but a body of Amaury's troops, led by valiant officers, ran to the aſſault. Never was there the like eagerneſs ſeen in action;

action; some endeavoured, by the help of ladders, to climb up to the top of the wall, whilst others sapp'd it at the bottom, and some in places where it was lowest, got upon the shoulders of their comrades, and made of their bodies a sort of stairs to get up to the ramparts: The besieged drove them back with their pikes, with rolling great stones upon them from the top of the wall, with darting their javelins, or throwing artificial fires; and there perished in the beginning of this attack a great number of Christian officers and soldiers, before it could be seen on which side the victory would turn.

AMAURY, to sustain this first body, caused some fresh troops to advance, who bravely mount through the thickest of the fires, javelins and stones, get up to the top of the walls, catch hold of the battlements, and in spite of all opposition from the besieged, leap upon the ramparts, push all before them, and make their way into the town sword in hand. This done, they set open the gates, the Christians crowd in, the soldiers, in the first transports of their fury, put all before them to the sword, without distinction of age, sex or condition. There were some of these furies that spared neither old men, nor women, nor children at the breast; it looked as if the Christians were afraid of being less inhuman than the Sarazens and the Arabians. But the officers, as well as the soldiers, perceiving that their cruelty was prejudicial to their avarice, gave quarter to the principal inhabitants, in hopes of drawing money from them for their ransom; and such as could not pay it were treated as slaves and prisoners of war.

THE king of Jerusalem being master of the place, delivered up the possession of it, according to
1168. his agreement, to the grand master; and the whole army, after some days rest, marched towards Grand Cairo, a considerable city, seated near old Babylon, and upon the destruction of that place made the capital of Egypt. There is no describing the surprize and consternation of the sultan, when he received advice of the loss of Belbeis, and the taking

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of his ſon and nephew, and that he himſelf was going to have all the Chriſtian forces upon his heels. As he could not much depend upon the raw troops of the Egyptians, in ſpite of his breach of faith to Noradin, he ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of having recourſe to that prince; and the imminent danger he was in made him inſenſible of ſhame in imploring the aſſiſtance of an ally whom he had deceived: at the ſame time he ſends for ſeveral regiments from the moſt remote provinces; and to gain time for both to advance to his ſuccour, he diſpatched embaſſadors to the king of Jeruſalem, to endeavour by a negotiation to retard the progreſs of his arms.

THE embaſſadors arriving at the royal camp, complained of the infraction of the treaty of peace; but as the injuſtice was but too viſible, they did not inſiſt much on a grievance which would only ſerve to incenſe Amaury whom they had a mind to pacify; but to prevail with him to withdraw his forces out of Egypt, they made him ſuch dazzling propoſals, that his majeſty, with whom peace and war were equally venal, had not the power to reſiſt them. They offered him two millions of gold for a peace, and for the ranſom of the ſultan's ſon and nephew; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and ſuch as could hardly be raiſed in all Egypt. Amaury, more affected with theſe offers of ready money than with the uncertain hopes of conquering the kingdom, accepted the conditions. The treaty was ſigned; in conſe- 1166.
quence of which, and for ſetting the ſultan's ſon and nephew at liberty, they paid him an hundred thouſand pieces of gold in part of the two millions, demanding ſome time to raiſe the reſt; and inſiſting upon a ceſſation of arms between the two nations during the time that they were collecting the money in the provinces; as alſo, that the Chriſtians, to avoid alarming the country, ſhould ſtay in the place where they were, or at leaſt advance on but ſlowly. The king of Jeruſalem, always beſet by his wretched paſſion, without conſidering that moments in war are more

precious than gold and silver, complied with every thing; and the sultan, to amuse him, sent him refreshments continually. He took care at the same time to dispatch express after express to the prince, to excuse, under various pretences, the delay of paying the money agreed on. In vain did Amaury's chief officers labour to make him suspect this delay. That prince, blinded by the hopes of receiving so vast a sum, carefully avoided giving the Sarazens the least pretence in nature to break the treaty: but it was not long before he saw that he was imposed on: he heard, with equal surprize and concern, that several bodies of troops were advancing out of the provinces, and that a formidable army of the Syrian Turcomans were on their march to succour the Egyptians, and were taking their measures to join them.

NORADIN, who resolved not to be the Egyptians bubble a second time, had poured in his best troops on that side, and put his general in a condition to force Sannar to keep his word. Notwithstanding the several motions that Amaury made, Siracon, who commanded Noradin's army, and knew the country well, avoided meeting him. Amaury had advanced to fight him separately; but that infidel general joined the troops of the sultan. To compleat the misfortune, the fleet which the emperor of Constantinople had sent to the assistance of the Christians, was part of it lost, and the rest dispersed by a storm. Amaury deprived of this succour, and finding his army considerably weakened by sickness, desertion, and other accidents usual in war, saw himself no longer in a condition of making head against the united forces of the infidels; so that all his business was to get back into Palestine; and as there was no prospect of leaving the garrison of Belbeis in an enemy's country, without any hopes of succour, against so formidable a power, the great master found himself obliged to recall the hospitallers that he had put into the place.

AMAURY took them up in his way; and though he was pursued smartly by some detachments of Siracon's army,

army, he made a ſhift to get back into Paleſtine. At laſt, after a tedious march, he arrived at Jeruſalem, full of confuſion for having broken a ſolemn treaty to no purpoſe, and been engaged in an unjuſt and ill concerted enterprize.

THE grand maſter was yet more uneaſy at this ill ſucceſs. The courtiers, according to cuſtom, in order to juſtify the young prince, threw all the blame of this unfortunate expedition upon him. His brother companions of the order were no leſs exaſperated againſt him; and they made loud complaints, that he had run the order in debt above 200,000 ducats, an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, merely to gratify his vanity, and be attended by a great number of volunteers. In ſhort, not able any longer to bear the contempt of ſome, and the reproaches of others, he reſolved to leave Paleſtine. He made a reſignation of his dignity in a full chapter, and they choſe in his ſtead an old knight, called brother Caſtus or Gaſtus, of whoſe country we have no account. Were it not for the diſtance of time, one might perhaps take him for the ſame Gaſtus, who, during the firſt cruſade, entered with the count of Flanders, at the head of five hundred men into the town of Rama; but in all probability this great maſter was only ſome relation of that gentleman's.

GASTUS. 1169.

GILBERT d'Aſſalit, upon his abdication, quitted Jeruſalem and Paleſtine, reſolving to go into ſome corner of Europe, there to bury his grief and ſhame. He embarked at Jaffa, and landed on the coaſt of Provence: he paſſed through France, to go into Normandy to Henry II. duke of that great province and king of England. He waited upon that prince at Rouen, and notwithſtanding his misfortune, was well received by him, as Roger Hoveden, a cotemporary hiſtorian, relates. From thence he took ſhipping at Dieppe for England, which makes it probable that he was a native of that country; the ſhip, as the hiſtorian ſays, was old and not fit to bear the ſea. Aſſalit impatient to be in

England, caused only some slight repairs to be made, and went on board it; but he was hardly got out of the port, when the vessel foundered. The great master perished on this occasion, with all the passengers, except eight persons, who seized in good time on the boat.

SANNAR, though victorious, was not so easily rid of Siracon Noradin's general, as of the Christians his declared enemies: an ally so powerful gave him great uneasiness. These two generals watched one another narrowly, and had each of them their private designs. The Egyptian, after congratulating Siracon on his victory, sent him magnificent presents; and representing to him the scarcity of provisions, pressed him to return home. But Siracon, on various pretences, deferred his departure from day to day; in fine, having wheedled Sannar into his camp, he had him assassinated, and entering into Cairo at the head of his troops, made himself master of the kingdom, and was declared sultan by the caliph himself, who was but a mere phantom of a sovereign, and whose fate depended always on the strongest of his subjects.

NORADIN's general did not long enjoy the fruits of his villany; he fell sick and died at the end of two months, and left the command of Noradin's troops to his nephew Salahebdin or Saladine before mentioned, whom the caliph of Egypt, because he could not avoid it, declared first emir or sultan of the whole kingdom.

SALADINE dispatched immediately an officer, one of his friends, to Damascus, to give Noradin his master advice of the death of Siracon his uncle, and to receive his orders. Some of Noradin's ministers, mistrusting the ambitious temper of the young general, advised that prince not to confirm the authority of Saladine, who was not born his subject, but to send him immediately a successor. But Noradin, being apprehensive that the taking away his command would put him upon thoughts of revolting, and having a design to go in person into Egypt, when all was quiet in that kingdom, confirmed Saladine in his post, only order-

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ing him to cauſe the name of Adhad as caliph to be left out of the publick prayers, and that of Moſtadhi, the thirty third caliph of the race of Abbaſſides, who reſided at Bagdat, to be ſubſtituted in his ſtead. He commanded him at the ſame time to turn out the prieſts and cadis or magiſtrates that profeſſed themſelves of the ſect of Aly, of which Adhad, as caliph, was the head and ſovereign pontiff. That caliph ſurvived this great change but a ſhort time. It is ſaid, that his death was not natural, and that Noradin, zealous and a bigot to his religion, in order to extinguiſh the ſchiſm in the blood of that unfortunate prince, ſent private orders to Saladine to make him away. But whether any ſuch orders came from Damaſcus, or Adhad's life gave continual uneaſineſs to the ambitious Saladine, 'tis certain that he cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the bath.

HE was the laſt of the Fatimite caliphs, who became extinct in Egypt in the year of our Lord 1171, and of the Hegira 567; and all the authority in the government, both ſpiritual and civil, devolved upon Saladine, who, to make himſelf the more reſpected, received the inveſtiture of it from the Abbaſidian caliph reſiding at Bagdat.

SALAHEDDEN-Joſef-ben Ajoub-ben Schadi was a ſoldier of fortune, a Curde by nation, who engaged with his uncle Siracon in the ſervice of Noureddin-Zenghi, prince of Aleppo and Damaſcus, whom we have been ſpeaking of by the name of Noradin. The caliph Adhad was no ſooner dead, than Saladine ſeized his treaſures, with which we may ſay he purchaſed the empire, by diſtributing them into his army. He gave every thing away. Never did any commander gain the affection of his ſoldiers by ſuch prodigious liberalities. He was ſevere in puniſhing, generous in rewarding, good natured, humane, perfectly equitable with regard to his ſubjects, and at the ſame time, by the principles of his religion, a bloody enemy to the hoſpitallers and templars; he was moreover a ſoldier, a general, and a great commander, and by his conqueſts founded a

vaſt empire, the hiſtory whereof is written by the famous Abbe Renaudor, the moſt learned man of his age in the oriental languages.

YOUNG Saladine, being as able a politician as he was a great commander, paid, as long as Noradin lived, an entire deference to his orders; he obſerved too for ſome time after his death the ſame conduct with regard to Almalech-al-Salchiſmael Noradin's ſon, whoſe name he cauſed to be mentioned in the moſques and publick prayers after that of the caliph, as was the cuſtom with regard to ſovereigns. He afterwards married that prince's mother; but when he had eſtabliſhed his authority upon a ſubſtantial footing, he took off the mask, made war upon the ſon of his maſter, and took Allepo from him. Damaſcus, the better part of Syria, Perſia, and Meſopotamia fell under the power of his arms*.

THERE was nothing to ſeparate theſe vaſt provinces whereof this new empire was compoſed, and to hinder their communication with each other, but only Judea or Paleſtine; for which reaſon he bent his arms to conquer this little ſtate. There were every day new enterprizes and incurſions made by the infidels. The Chriſtians knew not which way to turn themſelves, nor what part to ſuccour firſt. Saladine with an army of 40,000 men attacked the caſtle of Daron, ſituated in Idumæa, four miles from Gaza: but meeting with too brave a reſiſtance, he drew off and inveſted Gaza itſelf, which is the key of the kingdom of Paleſtine, on that ſide next Egypt and the ſea. He thought to find that place, which was entruſted to the guard of the templars, deſtitute of a garriſon, from a notion that thoſe knights were drawn out to reinforce the army: but he was convinced upon the firſt approach,

* Salahabdinus occupator Ægypti uxorem Noradini ſibi matrimonio copulans, cum ipſa regni regimen, fugatis hæredibus, occupavit; deinde terra Roaſiæ et Geſiræ occupata, circumjacentia regna uſque ad intima citerioris Indiæ, nunc dolis, nunc armis expugnans, de ſceptris pluribus monarchiam efficit, Babyloniæ et Damaſci ſibi vendicans principatum: hæc fortunæ lucentis potentia. Chron. 9. de Nangis, ad ann. 1174.

proach, and by the firſt ſally that was made, that all the templars were not at the army. He raiſed the ſiege immediately, and by way of revenge for his ill ſucceſs, his troops put all to fire and ſword in the country, whilſt his lieutenants on the other hand ravaged at the ſame time the principality of Antioch and Phœnicia.

THE hoſpitallers and templars were continually on horſeback; and though theſe noble warriors made head with invincible courage againſt all the efforts of the enemy, the king began to be ſenſible of the fault he had committed, in occaſioning the ſultan to call in an enemy equally powerful and ambitious to his ſuccour; and he ſaw plainly, that there was no reſiſting him without a new cruſade, and an army of the princes of the weſt. He employed William biſhop of Acre in this negotiation, appointing him chief of the ambaſſade: but as this ſuccour was remote, and even uncertain, he reſolved to apply himſelf to the emperor of Conſtantinople, and went in perſon to that capital, to obtain of Manuel, whoſe niece he had married, ſome troops, or at leaſt money neceſſary to make new levies.

That prince, before he embarked, left the government of his territories to the two grand maſters: the hoſpitaller was called brother Joubert, a perſon, who, by his wiſe conduct in the affairs of the principality of Antioch, well deſerved to be promoted to that ſupreme dignity. He ſucceeded Gaſtus. The choice the king had made, ſo much to the honour of the two military orders, was a new motive to redouble their application and zeal. The two grand maſters were obliged, in a manner, to make head on all ſides; and to embarraſs them the more, beſides the formidable enemy they had in Saladine, there roſe up another of the houſe of Armenia, ſprung out of the very boſom of the templars, who putting himſelf under the protection of the infidels, adopted at the ſame time all their hatred againſt the Latin Chriſtians.

JOUBERT. 1169.

THE

THE leſſer Armenia, a province bordering upon Syria, had its own princes, that were Chriſtians by religion, but moſt of them ſchiſmaticks, as well as their ſubjects, and that from the Greek church as well as the Latin.[a] They mix no water with the wine in the holy ſacrifice, as the Greeks and Larins do, though they uſe leavened bread agreeably to the practice of the Greeks.[b] They make but one holy day of Chriſtmas and the epiphany; 'tis ſaid too, that they chuſe butter inſtead of balm in making the holy chriſm. They allow but one nature in Jeſus Chriſt, and add theſe words, "Who was crucified for "us" to the triſagion, an addition introduced by Peter Foulon, an intruder into the patriarchal ſee of Antioch, but rejected by the Catholick church. Theſe ſchiſmaticks have a patriarch, whom they ſtile by way of eminence the Catholick, and who reſides at Cis, the capital of the leſſer Armenia. The princes of this little ſtate depended originally on the emperors of Conſtantinople; but in the frequent revolutions of that empire, they never acknowledged its authority, but when they were forced to it; and by the help of ſome caſtles, ſeated on inacceſſible mountains, they maintained their ground as well againſt the incurſions of the Turcomans as the enterprizes of the Greeks. 1170.

THEODOSIUS or Theodore was then reigning in that country. This prince, though a ſchiſmatick, had yet, to ſupport himſelf againſt the Greeks, made a particular alliance with the Latins of the eaſt. He allowed the hoſpitallers and templars to have churches in his territories, and Melier or Milon, his brother, had even renounced the ſchiſm, and made himſelf a templar. Prince Theodore, to engage the Latins more cloſely in his intereſts, had married one of his ſiſters to a Latin nobleman; and there being iſſued of that marriage a young prince, named Thomas, he had afterwards declared him to be his heir and ſucceſſor.

UPON

[a] Boſio. l. 8. p. 377. [b] Epiſt. Greg. Papæ ſept.

UPON the death of that prince, Thomas his nephew was for taking poſſeſſion of his territories.[a] But as he was no abettor of the ſchiſm, the Armenians ſhewed a great deal of diſlike to his government, and Melier the templar, taking advantage of this averſion of the people, quitted his order, took up arms in concert with Saladine, obtained a conſiderable ſuccour of troops from him, drove his nephew out of Armenia, and made himſelf maſter of it. He afterwards invaded the principality of Antioch, and advanced even to the frontiers of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. His troops, by his orders, deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, and left diſmal marks of their fury in all places wherever they paſſed[b]. 'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe all the barbarities which that apoſtate templar exerciſed upon the Latin Chriſtians, and eſpecially upon the knights hoſpitallers and templars his brethren. Such as fell into his hands, he cauſed to be murdered in cold blood, or elſe delivered them up to the infidels, as pledges and proofs of his fidelity, by which means theſe ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt were put to death with the moſt dreadful torments. 1171.

THE grand maſter Joubert would gladly have gone in perſon to repreſs the inroads of the renegado, and take ample vengeance of him for ſo many cruelties. But as he had ſtill the care of the regency upon his hands, and could not leave the frontiers of Egypt, without abandoning them for a prey to the incurſions of Saladine's troops, he ordered a knight of his order, who was alſo a great preceptor or great commander in it, and had the guard of the frontiers on the ſide of Syria, to draw together the hoſpitallers and ſoldiers under his command, and to advance againſt the apoſtate Melier, and give him battle.

BOHEMUND III. of that name, reigned at this time in the principality of Antioch. He was the ſon of Raimond, brother to William the laſt count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, which Raimond, as we have obſerved, had by means of the hoſpitaller Joubert,

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 20. 28. [b] Idem ibid.

Joubert, married the princeſs Conſtance, heireſs of the principality of Antioch, and only daughter of Bohemund II. and the iſſue of this marriage was Bohemund III. This young prince and the templars joined with the hoſpitallers againſt the renegado Melier: and Amaury, king of Jeruſalem, at his return from Conſtantinople, where he had received more honours and fine promiſes than effectual ſupplies, prepared to march at the head of his troops to take on him the command of the army: but advice came, that Melier, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the field, had retired to the defiles of the mountains, and intrenched himſelf in places where it was not eaſy to force him.

THE Turcomans on their ſide, to make a diverſion in favour of the Armenian, had inveſted
1172. Arach or Krach, a place in the frontier of Arabia Petræa. Upon the firſt news they had of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, Thoron, conſtable of the kingdom, drew out the hoſpitallers and templars that were left in Jeruſalem, and advanced with great expedition to relieve it. At the approach of the Chriſtian army, the infidels raiſed the ſiege, and retired into their own country.

As faults are perſonal, and there was a villain and traitor even in the college of the apoſtles, Melier's apoſtacy did no injury to the reputation of the templars; but a barbarous action, committed not long after by a brother of that order upon an envoy of the prince of the aſſaſſins, and connived at by the grand maſter, began to leſſen and ſink the eſteem and affection which till then was paid to the whole order in general.

THERE had been ſettled for ſeveral ages in the mountains of Phœnicia, between Tortoſa or Antaradus, as it was then called, and the town of Tripoli, a ſort of banditti, who ſeemed to be Mahometans, but in reality had ſcarce borrowed any thing from that ſect but their hatred of the Chriſtian name. They were Barbarians, without any law, faith, or even religion, but blindly

Will. Tyr. ibid.

blindly devoted to the will of their chief, by whoſe orders the moſt ſhocking villanies were conſecrated into heroick virtues. They choſe this commander by a majority of votes. He took on him no title but that of OLD, or Senior, a term from whence in thoſe times was derived that of Seignior, which, in baſtard Latin, ſignifies the ſame thing; and he was called the Seignior of the mountain, on account of the mountainous country which theſe banditti inhabited.

BUT under a ſtyle and title ſo modeſt in appearance, this chief of the aſſaſſins enjoyed an authority more abſolute than that of the greateſt kings, and his power was the more firm and ſubſtantial, in that it was founded on a principle of religion; and becauſe this brutiſh and ignorant people were bred up in the belief, that if they died in executing the orders of their chief, they ſhould go immediately to a delicious paradiſe, and be placed in the firſt ſeats there.* The ſeignior of the mountain made uſe of theſe wretches to diſpatch his particular enemies. They went to ſtab even princes and ſovereigns in their very palaces, and in the midſt of their guards. 'Twas a ſort of ſchool or academy of aſſaſſins, and theſe barbarians were not deterred by fear of the moſt dreadful torments from executing their bloody commiſſions.

To avoid ſuſpicion, they generally carried no arms but a poniard, called in the Perſian tongue Haſſiſin: this name was given them upon that occaſion, and from thence we have formed the word *Aſſaſſin*. This little ſtate conſiſted only in ſome caſtles, built on the ridge of the mountains, or upon inacceſſible rocks; but there were in the bottoms between theſe mountains, and in the vales, a great number of villages, peopled with above ſixty thouſand inhabitants, all of a cruel and ſavage diſpoſition, murderers by principle, and ſo reſolutely deſperate, that moſt of the neighbouring

*Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 19. l. 20. c. 21. Matt. Paris A. D. 1150. Will. Neubri. l. 4. c. 24. id. l. 5. c. 16. Jac. de Vitri l. 1. c. 13. et 14. id. l. 3. p. 1126. See Du Cang's obſervations on the hiſt. of St. Louis, p. 87, edit. 1668.

ing princes, though far exceeding them in power, yet durſt not make war upon them. 'Tis related of a ſultan of Damaſcus, that having ſent an envoy to a ſeignior of the mountain, named Hacen, to threaten him with the ruin of his little territory, if he would not pay him tribute, this chief of the aſſaſſins, without making any reply, ordered, in the envoy's preſence, one of his ſubjects to throw himſelf headlong from the top of a tower, and another to ſtab himſelf to the heart; they did ſo on the ſpot. Hacen thereupon turning towards the embaſſador, who was not a little frighted at ſo odd a ſpectacle, Tell your maſter, ſays he, that I have ſixty thouſand men as much devoted to my orders as theſe two; and from that time the ſeignior of the mountain never heard more of the ſultan's pretenſions. Other hiſtorians ſay, that it was a count of Compagne, who going from Tyre to Antioch, with a paſs from the ſeignior of the mountain, and travelling through his little ſtate, was witneſs of this horrid fight. But be that as it will, moſt of the Chriſtian and Mahometan ſovereigns thought fit, for their own ſecurity againſt the fury of theſe aſſaſſins, to ſend great preſents to their chiefs.

THE templars, who were in poſſeſſion of the places adjoining to this little ſtate, were the only perſons who durſt venture to make war upon theſe aſſaſſins, and attempt to rid the earth of ſuch monſters. But as theſe Barbarians, who had it in their power to revenge themſelves on the grand maſter, were ſenſible that the order, being governed in the manner of a commonwealth, was not be extinguiſhed by the death of their chief, whoſe place would immediately be filled with a ſucceſſor, every whit as eager to make war upon them, they ſubmitted at laſt to purchaſe a peace with the tribute of two thouſand crowns of gold yearly, payable to the order.

THE ſeignior who commanded at that time in theſe mountains, either out of a religious motive, or to be eaſed of this tribute, ſent an embaſſador to the king of Jeruſalem, to aſſure him, that he was ready to be baptized

baptized with all his ſubjects, if the templars would diſcharge him of the tribute. Amaury was highly pleaſed with the propoſal, promiſed that the tribute ſhould be remitted, for which he engaged to make the templars amends, loaded the envoy with preſents, and at his return ſent him away, ſays William of Tyre, attended by one of his guards, who had orders to conduct him to the frontiers of the ſtate. They were already paſt Tripoli, and ready to enter into the ſtreights of the mountains, when a templar, named Du Meſnil, hurried on by the animoſity that had ſo long reigned between the Chriſtians and the aſſaſſins, without any regard either to the publick faith, or the officer the king had ſent to protect him, ran his ſword through the envoy's body, and killed him on the ſpot.

'TIS impoſſible to expreſs the king's wrath and indignation, when he heard of this intolerable violation of the law of nations, eſpecially ſince it affected a chief of banditti, who would not want aſſaſſins to make repriſals. He ſent immediately to Odo de St. Amand, then grand maſter of the order, to demand the criminal of him; but Odo refuſed him, under pretence that his knights were not ſubject to the juriſdiction of the king's officers: 'twas not that he demurred upon the crime the templar had committed, for he himſelf had cauſed him to be arreſted, and had put him in irons; but as the queſtion related to the judges, before whom the crime was properly cogniſable, and he pretended that the templars held only under the pope, he declared that he would ſend the criminal to Rome in irons, and 'till judgment was given in his caſe, he forbad all perſons whatſoever to meddle with him, under pain of excommunication, agreeably to the privileges of the order.

THE king, without troubling himſelf about theſe declarations, cauſed the criminal to be carried off, and confined him in his own priſon at Tyre; and that prince, to ſatisfy his own juſtice, and the reſentment of the ſeignior of the mountain, would have made an exemplary puniſhment of him, if his death, which happened at that juncture, had not ſaved the priſoner's life.

AMAURY left three children by two marriages, two daughters and a ſon. The eldeſt of the daughters, named Sybille, was at that time widow of William Longueſpee, marqueſs of Montferrat. The younger, named Iſabel, the offspring of his ſecond marriage with Mary, a Greek princeſs and niece to the emperor Manuel, was married afterwards at eight years of age to Humfrey de Thoron, grandſon to the conſtable of Jeruſalem. The eldeſt of all theſe children, and Amaury's ſucceſſor, was Baldwin IV. who was born of his firſt marriage with Agnes daughter of Joſceline de Courtenay, the ſecond of the name, and prince of Edeſſa.

BALDWIN was born with great infirmities, and was dying in a manner all his reign. The regency of his dominions was committed to Raimond III. count of Tripoli, ſurnamed the Young, his next relation, ſon to Raimond II. and Hodierna, daughter of Buldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, and widow of the famous Tancred, who ſignalized himſelf under Godfrey de Bouillon. Raimond III was deſcended by the male line from the firſt count of Thouloufe, who acquired ſo much glory in the firſt cruſade.

DURING Baldwin's minority, the forces of the kingdom of Jeruſalem leſſened in proportion as the power of Saladine increaſed. This prince, after making himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Noradin's dominions, had lately, in concert with his widow whom he had married, taken Damaſcus. The count of Tripoli, alarmed at the power of ſo formidable a neighbour, drew down all the forces of the kingdom on that ſide, and taking advantage of Saladine's abſence, who was returned into Egypt, beſieged Harem, a caſtle in the neighbourhood and territory of Aleppo. The prince of Antioch and the count of Nevers, whom devotion had brought to the Holy Land[a], were preſent at the ſiege, with different bodies of troops under their

[a] Aſſumptis ergo ſuis, et domino comite Tripolitano, magiſtroque domûs hoſpitalis, et multis ex fratribus militiæ templi, ad partes contendit Tripolitanas. Will. Tyr. l. 2. c. 18.

their command; to whom were joined, as William of Tyre relates, the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, with his knights and many of the templars. The ſiege was long, and ended at laſt in a private treaty between the count of Tripoli and the Turks, by whom he was bribed to draw off his forces; and this infamous correſpondence of a Chriſtian prince with the infidels, had afterwards conſequences very fatal to the Latin Chriſtians.

1174.

DURING this ſiege, Saladine fell into Paleſtine on the ſide of Egypt with a mighty army. King Baldwin being then of age, and in the favourable intervals which his infirmities allowed him, mounted on horſeback to oppoſe that conqueror. He met him near Aſcalon; they came to an engagement; and, though the forces of the two parties were very unequal, Saladine having at leaſt twenty ſix thouſand horſe, and the Chriſtian army hardly amounting to four hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, yet this handful of troops falling on the enemy's camp in the night, put the infidels into a terrible conſternation; moſt of them ran away, and Saladine himſelf, intrepid as he was, to make the greater haſte, mounted a dromedary half naked, and fled into his own territories.

THE year following, Baldwin, to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Arabians, attempted to fortify a caſtle upon Saladine's lands, beyond the river Jordan, in a place called Jacob's ford[a]. This was the occaſion of a new battle that did not prove ſo fortunate to the Chriſtians as the former. For Saladine having drawn them into an ambuſh, which he had laid in ſome hollow and rocky grounds, they were ſurprized and attacked on all ſides[b]. The Chriſtian army not being able either to march forwards or make a retreat, diſbanded at once; none but the hoſpitallers and templars ſtood

[a] Eodem anno Chriſtiani firmaverunt caſtellum fortiſſimum in terra Saladini ad vadum Jacobi ultra fluvium Jordanis; ſed Saladinus illud per vim cepit, in cujus captione ſummus magiſter hoſpitalis captus fuit, et in terram Saladini ductus, ſicque periit. Rog. Hoveden, in Henr. II. p. 555.

[b] Roger Hoveden. parte poſter. in Henr. II. p. 565.

their ground: the greateſt part of them were cut in pieces: Joubert, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, tho' wounded in ſeveral places, had yet ſtrength enough left to ſwim over Jordan, and got ſafe to the caſtle of Beaufort; but Odo de St. Amand, grand maſter of the templars, being overborn by the number of the enemy, was taken priſoner by the infidels.[a] Robert Dumont, a contemporary hiſtorian, ſays, that Saladine offered him his liberty in exchange for one of his nephews, who was a priſoner of the order; but the noble grand maſter anſwered him bravely[b], that he would never, by his example, encourage any of his knights to be mean enough to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, in hopes of being ranſomed; that a templar ought either to vanquiſh or die[c], and had nothing to give for his ranſom but his girdle and his knife. We have no account how he eſcaped out of the hands of theſe barbarians; but it will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory that he came back to Jeruſalem.

THERE is no deſcribing the conſternation that the Latin Chriſtians were in after this defeat; the victorious enemy over-run the kingdom, putting every thing to fire and ſword; the Chriſtian army was broke and diſperſed; the king relapſed into his uſual infirmity, which turned to a leproſy, and of the two grand maſters, one was a priſoner in the enemy's hands, and the other diſabled from action by reaſon of his wounds.

THE kingdom being reduced to this extremity, and in no condition to carry on a war, they were under a neceſſity of having recourſe to a negotiation, the only ſhift and reſource of the weaker ſide. They applied to Saladine for a truce, which they purchaſed of him with their money, and which he would not have agreed to at any rate, if a famine had not at that time made a terrible havock in his own provinces.

IN

[a] Robert de Monte append. ad Sig. Gembl. p. 666.

[b] Piſtorius l. 2.

[c] Dicens non eſſe conſuetudinis militum templi ut aliqua redemptio daretur pro iis præter cingulum et cultellum. Id. ibid.

IN the foregoing year pope Alexander III. had iſſued out a bull for calling a general council at Rome, which is the third of Lateran. He ſummoned thither the Latin prelates of the eaſt, in order to concert meaſures with them for the defence of the Holy Land. There came on this occaſion to Rome, the archbiſhops of Tyre and Ceſarea, Albert biſhop of Bethlehem, Raoul of Sebaſte, Joſſe of Acre, and Romanus of Tripoli, with the prior of the holy ſepulchre, deputed by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and an abbot of mount Sion. Theſe prelates repreſented, that the preſervation of what the Chriſtians had left in the Holy Land, depended intirely on the taking of Damiata, which would ſerve for a barrier to Paleſtine, and for an entrance into Egypt, in caſe it ſhould be thought proper to make a greater progreſs there: which, by the way, ſhews, that the above mentioned project of king Amaury III. and the grand maſter d' Aſſalit, muſt needs have been of vaſt advantage, if in the courſe of the war, the king of Jeruſalem had not, out of a ſordid paſſion, been more ſolicitous to heap up treaſure, than to ſecure the Holy Land, by ſuch important conqueſts, from the incurſions of the Egyptians. 1179.

As we don't mention the council of Lateran, but with regard to the intereſts of the Holy Land and the conduct of the hoſpitallers, we ſhall only take notice what paſſed there on that occaſion. Some biſhops of Paleſtine revived in this council the complaints which Foucher, patriarch of Jeruſalem, had made formerly to pope Adrain IV. againſt the privileges of the hoſpitallers and templars.[a] "We find, ſays the holy coun-" cil, by the warm complaints of the biſhops, our col-" leagues, that the templars and hoſpitallers abuſe the " privileges granted by the holy ſee; that whereas ſome " parochial churches had formerly been uſurped by " laymen, their chaplains and the prieſts of their rule,

[a] Fratrum autem et coepiſcoporum noſtrorum vehementi conqueſtione comperimus, quod fratres templi et hoſpitalis, aliique profeſſionis religiosæ, indulta ſibi ab apoſtolica ſede excedentes privilegia, contra epiſcopalem auctoritatem multa præſumunt, &c. Cap. 9.

" have cauſed them to be conveyed over to themſelves, " without the ordinaries conſent; that they admini- " ſter the ſacraments to excommunicate perſons, and " bury there with all the uſual ceremonies of the " church; that they likeways abuſe the permiſſion " granted their brethren, of having divine ſervice ſaid " once in churches that are under an interdict, and " that in theſe very places, they admit ſeculars into " their fraternity, pretending thereby to give them " the ſame right to their privileges, as if they were " indeed profeſſed." The council adds, that theſe abuſes did not proceed ſo much from the ſuperiors as from the indiſcretion of ſome private perſons. To provide therefore a remedy againſt theſe irregularities, they forbid the military orders, and all other communities of regulars, to receive for the future any conveyances of churches and tythes, without the ordinary's conſent, and order them to reſign immediately ſuch as they had lately got poſſeſſion of: that with regard to churches not founded by themſelves, nor ſerved by the chaplains of the order, they ſhould preſent the prieſts that they deſigned for the cure of them to the biſhop of the dioceſe, and reſerve nothing to themſelves but the cogniſance of the temporals, which belonged to them: that, agreeable to their privileges, they ſhould not cauſe divine ſervice to be ſaid in churches under an interdict above once a year, nor give burial there to any perſon whatſoever; and that none of their fraternity or aſſociates ſhould be allowed to partake of their privileges, if not actually profeſſed. Such was the regulation made by the holy council, upon the biſhops complaints, which in the main diminiſhed none of the rights and privileges of the military orders.

In the twenty third chapter of this council, they condemn the ſtifneſs of ſome eccleſiaſticks, who would not allow lepers to have churches to themſelves, tho' they were not admitted into the publick congregations. The council orders, that in all places, where lepers live in community, they may have a church, a

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church-yard, and a prieſt to themſelves: 'tis the firſt conſtitution that the church ever made in favours of lepers, whatever ſome modern hiſtorians pretend *.

The jealouſy which the clergy of Paleſtine retained againſt the military orders, did not hinder Renaud, lord of Margat, from making in the precedent year a new grant to the hoſpitallers, or rather an exchange with them, of that caſtle which is ſituated on the confines of Judea, as we learn from the author of the aſſiſes of Jeruſalem. Theſe knights fortified it, put a garriſon therein, and made it afterwards, on that ſide, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of Chriſtendom in the eaſt. 1178.

THIS acquiſition was however by no means a balance to the loſs which the order ſuffered the ſame year by the death of Joubert the grand maſter, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his wiſdom and capacity in government as by his military ſkill. The hiſtorians of that time ſay, that Saladine, not enduring that the hoſpitallers ſhould fortify a place on the frontier of his dominions, ſent one of his generals to beſiege it. The ſiege was long and bloody; the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, who had thrown himſelf into the place, ſtood ſeveral aſſaults with great reſolution. Moſt of his knights, animated by his example, and fighting before his eyes, died upon the breach they defended, the grand maſter, at the ſame time, ſhewing no diſpoſition to hearken to a capitulation. In fine, the infidels made ſuch powerful efforts, that they carried the place, ſword in hand, cut the knights that were left in pieces, took the grand maſter priſoner: and their commander, to revenge the obſtinate reſiſtance of the grand maſter,

* Eccleſiaſtici quidam quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Jeſu Chriſti quærentes, leproſis qui cum ſanis habitare non poſſunt, et ad eccleſiam cum aliis convenire, eccleſias et cœmeteria ſibi non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare miniſterio ſacerdotis; quod quia procul a pietate chriſtiana alienum dignoſcitur, de benignitate apoſtolica, conſtituimus, ut ubicunque tot ſimul ſub communi vita fuerint congregati, quod eccleſiam ſibi cum cœmeterio conſtituere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero ſine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. 3. Conc. Lat. cap. 25.

maſter, threw him into a dungeon, and left him there to periſh with famine. Thus ended the days of that illuſtrious knight, crowning a life that had been ſpent in defence of the altars of God, with a death highly precious in his ſight. There are other authors who pretend, that he did not fall into the hands of the infidels, but that, ſeeing the ruinous condition of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, he died of grief.

ROGER DESMOULINS. 1179.

THE chapter meeting after his death, choſe Roger Deſmoulins to ſucceed him, a knight who, by his conduct and valour, juſtified the choice of the companions of the order. His firſt care after his inſtallation was to exhort the regent and principal nobility of the kingdom to carry on the war againſt Saladine with vigour: but the jealouſy and competition between the grandees for the government of the ſtate during the king's infirmity, the criminal correſpondence of ſome lords with the infidels, and the diviſion that broke out in his time between the two military orders; all this contributed as much to Saladine's conqueſts, as his own valour and the courage of his ſoldiers.

WE have obſerved upon the authority of Brompton, an Engliſh hiſtorian of the ſame age, that the order of templars was as it were a branch of that of the hoſpitallers of St. John; but this branch, ſays the ſame author, growing up to a great tree, ſeemed to eclipſe and ſmother the ſtock from whence it was taken. This emulation between the two military orders, their eagerneſs in graſping at new revenues, wherein they vied with each other, a certain jealouſy almoſt inſeparable from the profeſſion of arms, and ſome diſputes about rank and precedence, as well in the field as in councils of ſtate, all concurred to keep up a miſunderſtanding between them, which at laſt flamed out to ſuch a degree that they fought and attacked one another as often as they met.

THERE can be no diſpute, but that the piety of both the orders began to dwindle conſiderably through

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a conduct ſo violent in its nature, and ſo unworthy the religious profeſſion: and if we ſtill find the ſame valour among theſe warriors, it muſt be owned, that it was not ſo much inſpired by Chriſtian charity, as by the human motives of glory and ambition.

As theſe military friars owned no ſuperior but the pope, the king ſent Alexander III. advice of their diviſions. That pope, who foreſaw how fatal the conſequences thereof might be to the Chriſtians of the Holy Land, obliged the knights to be reconciled. A treaty of peace was drawn up by his order; the two grand maſters ſigned it, as they ſay in the inſtrument itſelf, by the advice and expreſs conſent of the two chapters; and they entered into covenants about ſeveral eſtates which both of them laid claim to, as well as various ſums of money which they demanded of each other. We ſee likeways in the inſtrument of this treaty, that the pope enjoined them both, in caſe of any new occaſions of diſpute, to nominate, each party for themſelves, three old knights of the language and priory where the difference ſhould ariſe, to make an abſolute determination of it; and that if theſe arbitrators could not agree among themſelves, they ſhould refer it to ſome common friends, to be choſen between them, and which were to ſerve as additional arbitrators; or elſe remit the cogniſance of it to the holy ſee. The pope adds in his bull, that whilſt they are waiting the final judgment of that tribunal in the caſe, he exhorts the knights of both orders to be ſtudious in giving mutual proofs of the honour and regard they have for each other, and to join their endeavours, without diſtinction, for the common good and advantage of the two houſes, that, as Alexander ſays, "though their inſtitution be "different, yet it may appear, by the bond of charity, "which ought to unite them, that they are but one "and the ſame military and regular order".

THE hoſpitallers and templars conformed in appearance to the pope's intentions; but to ſay the truth, the pontiff's authority rather lulled aſleep for a time, than put an end to differences, which had their ſource

source from avarice and ambition; two passions that take deep root in the heart of man, and from which the holiest societies are not exempt.

ANOTHER passion, so much the more dangerous in that it makes its way into the heart by beauty
1179. and the graces of a fine person, had like to have raised a civil war in the principality of Antioch. Bohemund, the sovereign prince of that state, had married to his first wife a daughter of the house of Iblin: and after her death, a Greek princess, named Theodora. Bohemund, led astray by the charms of a concubine, had abandoned his lawful wife. The patriarch of Antioch, after using canonical admonitions in vain, excommunicated him, and laid a general interdict upon all his dominions: a kind of punishment which involves the innocent with the guilty, and is very often of dangerous consequence. Upon this Bohemund, hurried on by his passion, and incensed at a proceeding that might raise a revolt in the principality, made his officers seize on the temporalities of the patriarch, drove him out of Antioch, and besieged him afterwards in a castle which belonged to him, and whither he was retired with the principal of his clergy. The patriarch of Antioch was looked upon as the first prelate of the east, as well in regard to the foundation of his church which is ascribed to St. Peter, as the extent of his patriarchate, which has within its jurisdiction twelve metropolitans, one hundred and fifty three suffragan bishops, and in the city of Antioch alone above three hundred and sixty churches. As the patriarch was not without a great number of dependants attached to his dignity, nor the prince without secret enemies, and as both the principal nobility of the kingdom and the people were discontented at the government, neither of them were sorry to find so plausible a pretence to shew themselves.

IN a moment all the principality was up in arms: the malecontents, under pretence of defending the cause of the church, fought to revenge their private injuries.

ries. Every body was engaged on the one ſide or the other, according as his paſſions or intereſt led him.

THE king of Jeruſalem, or rather his council, fearing the infidels ſhould make an advantage of theſe diſſenſions, engaged the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the two grand maſters, to repair thither with all expedition, and endeavour to quiet the ſtorm. Theſe deputies, paſſing by *Tripoli*, brought along with them count Raimond, a particular friend of prince Bohemund. They aſſembled firſt at Laodicea, and from thence they went afterwards to Antioch. Being arrived, many conferences were held upon the occaſion, and meſſages ſent on both ſides; at laſt they made a ſort of proviſional treaty, wherein it was agreed, that both ſides ſhould lay down their arms; that the patriarch ſhould be immediately reſtored to the enjoyment of his temporalities, and that the interdict ſhould be taken off, but that the prince ſhould continue excommunicate, if he did not quit his concubine. This reſtriction ſerved only to inflame his paſſion for that woman, and to aggravate his hatred againſt the chief lords of the principality. He baniſhed afterwards, upon ſeveral pretences, the great conſtable and chamberlain and three other lords who had ſhewn too much attachment to the patriarch; they retired to the court of Rupin, prince of the leſſer Armenia, who, by concert with the grandees of the country, had diſpatched the renegado Melier, and had ſucceeded him in that principality.

THE grand maſter, ſome time after his return from Antioch, received the mortifying news, that moſt of the hoſpitallers of his order, who were 1182. ſettled at Conſtantinople, had been maſſacred in a tumult raiſed in that imperial city againſt the Latins. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, with a deſign to extinguiſh the ſchiſm which he was far from abetting, had brought a conſiderable number of Latins to Conſtantinople, and made uſe of them both in the miniſtry and in ſtate affairs. The hoſpitallers had in Conſtantinople the famous hoſpital of St. Sauſſon, lying between

between the church of St. Sophia and St. Irene; and they were likeways in poſſeſſion of the hoſpital of St. John the almoner.

" 'Tis probable (ſays M. du Cange, a modern hiſtorian indeed, but highly to be reſpected for his profound learning) that the church of St. Sanſon was given to the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem by the emperor Manuel Comnenus, who had ſuch an affection for the Latins, and particularly for the French of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, that he incurred thereby the hatred of his own ſubjects[a]".

THIS hatred broke out after his death.[b] The Greeks, exaſperated by ſome differences in religion, and reſolved not to ſubmit to the authority of the holy ſee, ſet fire to the houſes of the Latins, maſſacred ſuch as fell into their hands, and did not even ſpare a cardinal, named John, whom the pope, at the emperor's requeſt, had ſent to endeavour a re-union of the two churches. The Greek prieſts and monks were the hotteſt in promoting this maſſacre, and to encourage the murderers, gave money among them. Theſe furious people broke into the hoſpital of St. John above mentioned, and inhumanely murdered the ſick and the religious hoſpitallers who took care of them. It was with difficulty that a ſmall number made their eſcape, and getting on board a ſhip, carried the diſmal news of this bloody maſſacre to Paleſtine.

THEY found the kingdom ſplit into factions, and weakened by domeſtick diviſions that brought
1178. on its ruin. The king's leproſy not allowing him to marry, or even to hold the reins of government in his own hands, he had given the princeſs Sybille, his eldeſt ſiſter, and widow of the marquis of Montferrat, in marriage to Guy de Luſignan, of the houſe of la Marche, ſon of Hugh le Brun, whom the mode of devotion that prevailed at that time had brought into Paleſtine. He was a handſome prince, and

[a] Obſervations ſur l'hiſtoire de Geoffroy de Villehardouin. N. 104. p. 302.

[b] Will. Tyr. l. 22. c. 12.

and of a good mein, but more a courtier than a ſoldier, and having found out the way to pleaſe the princeſs, he had no great difficulty, by her intereſt, to gain the good graces of the king.

BALDWIN, upon this marriage, made his brother in law regent of the kingdom, and reſerved nothing to himſelf but the title of king, and the poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem, with a penſion of ten thouſand crowns of gold. 1182.

THE ſovereign power, in which the king had given Luſignan a joint ſhare with himſelf, raiſed the jealouſy of the grandees, who, being born in Paleſtine, conſidered that prince as a foreigner. Raimond, count of Tripoli, fomented this diviſion. This count, the moſt powerful of all the vaſſals of the crown, aſpired ſecretly to the ſucceſſion of Baldwin. As the choice which the king had juſt made ruined his hopes, he entered thereupon, as it is ſaid, into ſecret meaſures with Saladine, in order to revive them. The truce which that prince had made with the king of Jeruſalem was ſtill ſubſiſting; the buſineſs was how to break it, without giving occaſion to charge the breach on the Mahometans. Saladine for this purpoſe gave private orders to one of the governors of his frontiers, to turn flocks of ſheep, horſes, cows, and other cattle, looſe upon the lands of the Chriſtians, and into the fields which were then covered with corn. Renaud de Chatillon, a famous partiſan, that was always on horſeback, cauſed all theſe beaſts to be taken and brought to Carach. Renaud de Chatillon, as William of Tyre relates, was but an adventurer and ſoldier of fortune[a], but handſome in his perſon, diſtinguiſhed by a great many brave actions, and in his youth, notwithſtanding the inequality of their conditions, had married privately Conſtance, princeſs of Antioch. He was at that time lord of Carach, a ſtrong place ſituated on an hill. The Latins had,

[a] Domina Conſtantia domini Raimondi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet multos inclitos et nobiles viros ejus matrimonium expetentes, more fæmineo repuliſſet, Rainaldum de Caſtillione quemdam ſtipendiarium militem ſibi occulte in maritum elegit. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 26.

had erected it into an archbiſhoprick, by the name of Mount-royal; it was formerly called Petra of the deſert, becauſe it lies on the edge of Arabia Petræa.

Chatillon, with a pretty large number of templars, had fortified himſelf there, and went frequently out upon parties. The Mahometans had no enemy that they dreaded ſo much; he carried off frequently whole caravans of pilgrims as they travelled to Mecca; and when he had them in priſon, he ridiculed their devotion. Mahomet himſelf was not ſpared in his ralleries: he had likeways formed the deſign of deſtroying his tomb, which has ſuch honours paid it at Medina, the Mahometans holding it in as much veneration as Chriſtians do the ſepulchre of Jeſus Chriſt; and he would have made himſelf maſter of that town and of Mecca, if the governor, who commanded under Saladine in Arabia, had not diſcovered his deſign, and taken proper meaſures to oppoſe it.

SALADINE, by way of repriſal, impriſoned fifteen hundred Chriſtians, merchants and pilgrims, whoſe ſhip had run a-ground near Damiata. He ſent afterwards to the king of Jeruſalem, to demand reſtitution of all the cattle that Renaud and the templars had carried off, contrary to the truce; and in caſe ſatisfaction was not given, the embaſſador had orders to declare war againſt him, and to proteſt, in that prince's name, that he would treat the Chriſtians, whom he had ordered to be ſeized, and their effects, in the ſame manner as they treated the cattle and their drovers, whom they detained, he ſaid, ſo unjuſtly at Carach.

THE king would very willingly have given ſatisfaction to the ſultan, whom he dreaded; but he had ſo little authority, and the government was ſo weak, that he could never oblige Renaud and the templars to reſtore the booty they had taken. Saladine upon this, under pretence of taking repriſals, began to make freſh incurſions upon the lands of the Chriſtians; and, as he had foreſeen, war enſued. He paſſes the Jordan, puts every thing that oppoſes him to the ſword, carries

Herold. Cont. Will. Tyr. l. 1.

ries off the women and children, dragging them into an odious ſlavery; ſets fire to the houſes, ravages the open country, and abandons himſelf to all the cruelties that could ſtrike fear and terror into the minds of the people.

THESE ravages made the principal nobility of the kingdom take the field at the head of their vaſſals, and ſupported by the two military orders. Theſe ſeveral bodies of troops made up a conſiderable army. The king, whoſe infirmity grew every day worſe and worſe, was not in a condition to take the command upon him[a]. He had loſt his ſight. The malignity of his leproſy had taken away the uſe of his hands and feet, ſo that he was obliged to intruſt the command of the army with Luſignan his brother-in-law, whom he had made count of Joffa and Aſcalon, titles belonging to the preſumptive heir of the crown. The count, either for want of capacity in the art of war, or through the jealouſy of the chief commanders, lay ſtill above eight days in ſight of an enemy weaker than himſelf, without attacking him, and even ſuffered him to go off with his booty and priſoners, and croſs the river Jordan before his eyes, without making the leaſt motion, or daring to go out of his intrenchments. 1183.

The Latin Chriſtians, who were all ſoldiers themſelves, and loved to have a general for their prince, complained heavily to the king of the cowardice of his brother-in-law; and moſt of the nobility proteſted, that they would never march into the field again under his command. The king, to ſatisfy them, recalled the power he had intruſted him with; and, as princes often ſet no bounds either to their favours or reſentments, he was deprived of the county of Jaffa[b], as being no way qualified to defend that important place, which was one of the keys of the kingdom. The king at the ſame time named for his ſucceſſor young Baldwin his nephew, ſon of the princeſs Sybille and the marqueſs of Montferrart, her firſt husband, though 1183.

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 22. [b] Will. Tyr. l. 23.

that prince was hardly five years old. This change occasioned great divisions all over the kingdom. Guy de Lusignan retired to Ascalon, where he fortified himself at first against the party that opposed him. But as this prince was much better qualified to talk big of his resentments, than to maintain them sword in hand, he soon returned to court; and in exchange for a crown and sovereignty, which he had been encouraged to expect, and for which no equivalent can be made, he poorly took up with the county of Jaffa that had been taken from him, and was now restored to him with the title of the king's vassal.

BALDWIN, who was no longer capable of acting by himself, committed the care of the govern-
1184. ment to the count of Tripoli, not so much out of regard to him, as for fear he should raise new disturbances in the kingdom, in case he was set aside. Raimond, the secret spring and author of all the cabals of the court, refused the regency at first, being well satisfied, that nobody would accept it in his wrong. The king was forced to press and importune him to it; and when at last he consented to take the government upon him, it was with this proviso, that the hospitallers and templars would engage to defend all the places that should be attacked. In the mean time, to secure his authority, he obtained a new truce from Saladine, which that infidel prince granted for a sum of money, to reimburse him the charges of the war.

THE Christians view in demanding this truce was to gain time for obtaining a new crusade, and succours from the princes of the west. The main business was to send a solemn embassy thither, and to put the negotiation into the hands of persons qualified by their capacity to manage it, and by their rank and merit to command respect and deference.

HERACLIUS, patriarch of Jerusalem, offered himself for the employment; he was a man of
1184. much vanity and conceit, and bragged that he would not return but at the head of an army, composed

compoſed of the moſt potent ſovereigns in Europe. The prince he depended moſt upon was Henry II king of England, grandſon to Fulk, count of Anjou and king of Jeruſalem, and conſequently couſin-german to Baldwin. What raiſed the patriarch's confidence the more, was his being informed, that whereas the Engliſh prince had received abſolution from the pope, on account of the murder of St. Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, of which he was ſuſpected, it was only upon condition, that he ſhould go in perſon at the head of a powerful ſuccour to the Holy Land. And though that prince had not in expreſs terms commanded him to be aſſaſſinated, yet as ſome imprudent words of his ſeemed to have occaſioned it, he ſubmitted to the penance, and in a council held at Auranches in Normandy, September 27th 1172, he had made a ſolemn promiſe, that at the Chriſtmas following he would take the croſs upon him for three years, and ſet out the next ſummer for Jeruſalem, if the pope did not grant him a diſpenſation for it; and that during the war, or at leaſt for one year, he would, beſides his own troops, maintain two hundred templars at his own expence. None of theſe conditions had been as yet performed, though it was near thirteen years ſince he engaged for them.

THE patriarch, who was well informed of this matter, uſed the intereſt of all his friends that he might be ſent into Europe, flattering himſelf that he ſhould come back with powerful ſuccours for the Holy Land, and loaded with great preſents to himſelf. But the council could hardly be brought to truſt ſuch an important negotiation to a prelate, who was naturally of a warm temper, and knew not how to deal with mankind in any other than a haughty manner: yet as it was dangerous to refuſe him, (and beſides they flattered themſelves that his dignity might add ſome conſideration to the embaſſy,) they accepted his offer, but appointed the two grand maſters for his colleagues, who were qualified by their moderation and good breeding, to ſoften the roughneſs of the patriarch's

humour; beſides, the knights of the two orders were, by reaſon of their birth and valour, much reſpected in the weſt, and in the courts of thoſe princes whoſe ſubjects they were born.

THESE embaſſadors ſet ſail from Jaffa, and arrived ſafe at Brunduſium. Pope Lucius III. ſucceſſor to Alexander, and the emperor Frederic I. were then at Verona, where they had come to an interview, in order to ſettle the peace of Italy, which they had put into a flame by their reciprocal pretenſions. Our embaſſadors, deſirous to improve the opportunity, made haſte to Verona, and laid before both of them the formidable power of Saladine, the miſerable and weak condition of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and the neceſſity of a powerful ſuccour, if they had a mind to preſerve the Holy Land. The emperor promiſed them troops, which he never furniſhed, and the pope gave them only indulgences and letters of recommendation, which coſt him nothing [a].

That pontiff wrote indeed very preſſing letters to the king of England, threatening him with the judgments of God, if he did not perform the penance preſcribed him; and by other letters, he ſolicited the king of France very warmly, to ſignalize his zeal at his coming to the crown, by an enterprize worthy the piety of his anceſtors. Our embaſſadors, furniſhed with theſe letters, were preparing for their journey to the two kingdoms, when they were ſtopped at Verona by a violent illneſs, which ſeized the grand maſter of the templars, and carried him to his grave [b]. The two embaſſadors, after paying him their laſt offices, ſet out for France, and arrived at Paris in the month of January, A. D. 1185. Philip II. was then upon the throne of France, a young prince about twenty years old. The embaſſadors, after delivering him the pope's letters, laid before him the

1185.

[a] Heraclius patriarcha ſanctæ reſurrectionis, et Rogerus magiſter domus hoſpitalis Jeruſalem, tendentes in occidentem, et per Italiam tranſitum facientes et Galliam, nec a domino papa, nec ab imperatore Romano, nec a rege Francorum aliqua conſolatoria receperunt. Radulph. de Diceto Ang. p. 265.

[b] Arnauld of Troy.

the extreme danger the Holy Land was in of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels; and in order to obtain his aſſiſtance, and engage him to go in perſon at the head of his troops, they preſented him the keys of the city of Jeruſalem, of the tower of David, and of the church of the holy ſepulchre, as a ſort of inveſtiture, or at leaſt as an earneſt of that right of protection which he was to acquire by his arms. The king received the patriarch and grand maſter very honourably, and gave them, as Rigord ſays[a], the kiſs of peace. He ordered at the ſame time all the prelates of his kingdom to exhort his ſubjects to take upon them the croſs. He would have done it himſelf, but the council of the young prince, who had no children as yet, did not think it adviſable for him to leave his dominions in a juncture of continual wars, which France was obliged to maintain againſt the Engliſh and Flemings. The king therefore contented himſelf with aſſuring the embaſſadors, that he would *maintain* at his own expence[b] all that ſhould aſſume the croſs, and take up arms out of ſo holy and pious a motive.

THE patriarch and grand maſter paſſed next into England, from whence the patriarch, as we have ſaid, expected to obtain the moſt conſi- 1185. derable ſuccours[c]. The embaſſadors being arrived, delivered the pope's letter to the king, and repreſented to him the need the holy places were in of his arms, and particularly of his preſence. Henry received them with great demonſtrations of reſpect. It is even ſaid, that he went as far as Reading to meet them[d]. But as he was advanced in years, and beſides had three ſons full of fire, of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition,

[a] In oſculo pacis honorifice recepit, diligentiſſime præpoſitis terræ ſuæ, ſive diſpenſatoribus præcipiens quod ubicumque per terram irent, de reditibus regis ſufficientes expenſas illis miniſtrarent. Rigord. p 171.

[b] De conſilio principum ſtrenuos milites cum magna multitudine peditum armatorum de propriis redditibus ſumptus ſufficientes, prout fama referente didicimus, miniſtrans, devotè Jeruſalem tranſmiſit Ib., ibid.

[c] Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 12. p. 425.

[d] Roger. Hoveden. in Henr. II.

diſpoſition, and hard to be kept in a due ſubmiſſion to his authority, ſo long a voyage as that of Jeruſalem was by no means convenient, either for his health or the preſent ſituation of his affairs. Nevertheleſs, to amuſe the embaſſadors, he referred the deciſion of that matter to the parliament, which met the firſt ſunday in lent. That auguſt aſſembly was acquainted, in the king's name, with the ſincere deſire he had of marching to the Holy Land, in order to perform his penance, and at the ſame time did not fail to take notice of his old age, the bad ſtate of his health, and withal the neceſſity of his preſence in England. His complaiſant ſubjects eaſily gueſſed at the prince's ſentiments, and did not forget to conform themſelves to them: they ſent him a deputation with great ceremony, to repreſent to him in the nation's behalf, that by an obligation antecedent to St. Thomas's death, and his own abſolution, and by the ſolemn oath which he took the day of his coronation, he was under greater obligations to ſtay at home, and govern his dominions, than he could be to leave them, and go in perſon to make war in Paleſtine. That the parliament nevertheleſs was of opinion to give fifty thouſand merks of ſilver for the levying of troops that ſhould be ſent away immediately for Aſia; that the cruſade ſhould be preached over all the kingdom, and the king ſhould give leave to ſuch prelates and noblemen as would take the croſs upon them, to go out of the land upon ſo holy an expedition. The king communicated this reſolution to the embaſſadors, who deſired of him to ſend at leaſt one of his ſons at the head of the cruſaders: but his anſwer was, that none of them were then in England, and he could not engage them in their abſence. The patriarch, who was naturally paſſionate, told him inſolently, that they had no need of his money, but of a general fit to command an army. He went on with a thouſand extravagant expreſſions, even ſo far as to upbraid him with his infidelity to the king of France, his ſuperior lord, and the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury: and ſeeing Henry, who

was

was the haughtieſt man alive, redden with anger and vexation; "Here's my head, ſays he, treat me if you "pleaſe, as you did my brother Thomas; 'tis indif- "ferent to me whether I die here by your orders, or "in Syria by the hands of the infidels, for you are "worſe than any Sarazen of them all [a]."

HENRY, either out of greatneſs of mind, or for fear of another quarrel with the eccleſiaſticks, took no notice of this inſolence. But there is no expreſſing the concern and confuſion of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, to ſee himſelf joined in commiſſion with a man of ſo violent a temper as the patriarch, who, by his extravagant paſſions, ruined all the benefit they had reaſon to expect from their negotiation. He omitted nothing to pacify the king, who ſeemed to ſacrifice his reſentments to the intereſts of religion. This prince carried the compliment ſo far, as to take the two embaſſadors of Jeruſalem with him in his own ſhip to Normandy, where they kept the feaſt of Eaſter at Rouen.

WE are told in Trivet's chronicle, that this prince gave them three thouſand merks of ſilver out of his own exchequer [b]. A great number of the Engliſh, and many of his ſubjects on the other ſide the ſea, took the croſs and joined the French that Philip II. ſent into the eaſt at his own expence. But as there wanted a prince, or ſome perſon of authority ſufficient to command them, and make himſelf obeyed, they received no great advantage from this armament; and upon the embaſſador's return, a general conſternation ſucceeded the falſe hopes that the patriarch had given of his negotiation.

IT was not long before they were acquainted at Jeruſalem with his odd and extravagant conduct at the court of England; all the world inveighed bitterly againſt him; it was publickly ſaid, that the true croſs which

[a] Fac de me quod de Thoma feciſti, adeo libenter volo a te occidi in Anglia ſicut a Saracenis in Syria, quia tu omni Saracene pejor es. Chron. Joan. Brompt. in Henr. II. p. 1145.

[b] Spicil. t. 8. p. 489.

which had been recovered formerly by a prince called Hercalius, was going to be loſt again under the pontificate, and by the fault of a patriarch of the ſame name: every body deteſted the violence of his paſſions, and they did not ſpare his conduct, particularly with regard to a woman, whom he kept publickly, and who was better known by the title of the patriarcheſs than by her own name [a].

THESE complaints againſt that prelate were followed by diſmal preſages of what was to come. The king was dying; his ſucceſſor a minor; the regent infinitely ambitious, without religion, and ſuſpected of aſpiring at the crown, and holding correſpondence with the infidels; the truce almoſt expired; the enemy powerful and formidable; few troops and leſs money; various parties in the ſtate, and diviſions, which are always fatal in a minority. The king's death happened in this miſerable juncture, and was followed, ſe-
1186. ven months after, by that of young Baldwin V. his nephew and ſucceſſor. The enemies of the count of Tripoli gave out, that he had poiſoned the young king, in hopes of ſucceeding him, as well by virtue of his birth-right, as by the ſtrength of his own forces, and the intereſt and power of his partiſans.

OTHERS laid this enormous crime upon the very mother of young Baldwin [b], and pretended that ſhe had poiſoned her own ſon, to make a way to the throne for herſelf, and for Guy de Luſignan her ſecond huſband. What confirmed theſe ſuſpicions was, that no body knew any thing either of the young prince's illneſs, or of the time of his death, till that princeſs, having made ſure of the patriarch, the grand maſter of the templars, and the marqueſs of Montferrat [c], ſurrounded the palace with troops; and the grand maſter, who had the crown, and all the royal ornaments in his cuſtody, being bribed by a conſiderable ſum, delivered them up to her, without the conſent of the grandees of the

[a] Marin. Sanut. l. 3. part. 6. c. 24. p. 147.
[b] Herold. contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 3.
[c] Gerard de Ridefort.

the kingdom: and the ſame day that the young king's death was declared[a], the queen his mother, and Guy de Luſignan were proclaimed king and queen of Jeruſalem.

THE count of Tripoli's creatures, who deſpiſed Luſignan, openly oppoſed this proclamation; and even Geoffrey de Luſignan, a prince of wonderful ſtrength of body, and extraordinary valour, but no ways prejudiced in favour of Guy's courage, hearing of his promotion to the crown of Paleſtine, could not help crying out, in a manner not over Chriſtian indeed, "Thoſe that have made my brother a king, would "have made me a god if they had known me." Moſt of the grandees of the kingdom complained, that the grand maſter of the templars, who had the guard and cuſtody of the royal crown, had without their conſent or knowledge, delivered it up to the queen, and withal to Guy de Luſignan, who had no right to it. Theſe lords, who were of the firſt rank in the kingdon, repreſented to the people, that, as affairs then ſtood in the Holy Land, they had need of a general for their king, and ſuch an one as had the eſteem and good opinion of the army; adding withal, that the crown could not deſcend to the heirs male of the royal family, which entirely excluded the two princeſſes, ſiſters to young Baldwn. Theſe open pretenſions divided all the Chriſtians of Paleſtine: they levied troops on both ſides, and were ready to come to a battle, when the affair was happily turned into a negotiation.

THE count of Tripoli, who was the ſecret ſpring that put the cabal againſt the court in motion, ſent the principal lords of his party to the princeſs Sybille, to let her know, that they would freely conſent to put the crown upon her head; but then they expected, that if ſhe would have a king for her husband, ſhe ſhould divorce Luſignan, and chuſe ſuch a prince for the partner of her throne and bed, as was capable of commanding the army, and defending the kingdom.

THE

[a] Idem Herold. ibid. p. 8.

THE princeſs, who was a very ſhrewd perſon, agreed to theſe propoſals; but required on the other hand, that the grandees ſhould bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to acknowledge him for their ſovereign whom ſhe ſhould chuſe for her husband. The oath was the more readily taken, in that, though the regent was actually married, yet his adherents flattered themſelves, that by help of a like divorce, the princeſs's choice could fall upon no body but that prince. The patriarch, whom the queen had gained by a ſwinging bribe, pronounced immediately the ſentence of divorce between her and Luſignan. Hiſtory does not acquaint us with the pretences alledged upon that occaſion; but after the divorce was declared, and the princeſs acknowledged for queen, they conducted her to the church of the holy ſepulchre, where ſhe was crowned by the patriarch with great ſolemnity. She took[a] the crown immediately from her own head, and put it upon Guy de Luſignan's, embraced him as her huſband, ſaluted him as king, and turning towards the grandees, who were ſtunned at this unexpected ſtep, "What God has joined, ſays ſhe to them, with an air "of ſtatelineſs, 'tis not for men to put aſunder." The grand maſter of the templars, who was let into the intrigue, ſupported her with all his intereſt. The grandees were at laſt obliged to ſubmit, and conſent to a choice they could not help, and the people, who were always fond of ceremonies, contrary to their cuſtom, ſaw this laſt with more amazement than pleaſure.

THE count of Tripoli was the only perſon who looked upon the queen's choice as an injuſtice done to himſelf. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs how much he was enraged at this preference: he ſwore the death of his rival, and of the templars alſo who had contributed ſo much to his advancement: and he did not care though

[a] Præfata regina accepit coronam regiam in manibus ſuis, et poſuit eam ſuper caput Guidonis de Luſignan mariti ſui, dicens, Ego cin[illegible]te in regem et dominum meum et terræ Hieroſolymitanæ, quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo ſeparare non debet. Rog. Hoveden. p. 634.

though he periſhed himſelf, if he could but cruſh his enemies with his own fall.

FULL of this ſpirit of revenge, and reſolved to ſacrifice every thing to his reſentment, he went off abruptly, and retired to his own territories. Saladine, an able politician as well as a great general, no ſooner heard of his diſcontent, than he ſend a private meſſenger that he could depend upon to treat with him. This envoy repreſented to him, with all the appearances of frankneſs, that it was not his maſter's intereſt to ſuffer a Chriſtian and independent kingdom in the heart of ſo many provinces as compoſed his empire; but that if he would turn Mahometan and become his vaſſal, he would engage to place him on the throne of Jeruſalem; and, in order to maintain him on it, would ſacrifice all the templars, their common enemies, to his ſecurity.

RAIMOND, blinded with his paſſion, agreed to every thing. It is ſaid, that he immediately cauſed himſelf to be cirucumciſed. But the better to carry on their deſigns, it was agreed between him and the envoy, that he ſhould not publickly declare himſelf of another religion, till after he was in poſſeſſion of the throne; and that to deſtroy the new king the more ſurely, he ſhould reconcile himſelf with him.

THE perfidious count went with this deſign to Jeruſalem. Some common friends that he applied to for that purpoſe, and who had no other view but to put an end to the diviſion, interpoſed honeſtly in the accommodation. Peace was made between them. Raimond acknowledged Luſignan for his ſovereign; and this count, ſo capable by his valour of defending the holy places, was not aſhamed to add treaſon to his apoſtaſy.

SALADINE, as it was agreed between them, fell into Paleſtine at the head of a mighty army. His deſign was to beſiege Acre, the ſtrongeſt and richeſt city of the whole kingdom. His army was computed to amount to near fifty thouſand horſe, beſides foot; and moſt of theſe troops were made up of the old inhabitants of

the country, or their children, whom the kings of Jerusalem, after the conquest of Godfrey de Bouillon, had driven out of it. They returned all in Saladine's retinue, in hopes of a speedy conquest, and of recovering the inheritance of their fathers.

THE sultan, favoured under hand by the count of Tripoli, found no opposition in his march, and advancing to Acre, laid siege to the town. The king had committed the defence of it the two grand masters, who had out-marched the enemy with a large body of hospitallers and templars, the surest resource the state had to depend on. The two grand masters, making the garrison and inhabitants take arms, sallied out in the night time*. The Christians, carrying their swords in one hand, and fire in the other, surprize the infidels, break into their camp, demolish their tents, cut the throats of all they find asleep, and set every thing on fire. Terror and consternation seize the enemy's army; but the day-light, which began to appear, and Saladine's presence, recovered them from their fright; each regiment drew up under their respective colours; they came to a regular engagement, and endeavoured to surround the Christians. 1187.

THOUGH the infidels were vastly superior in numbers, yet the military friars, who never counted their enemies, keep their ground, push the enemy before them, fall upon the body that Saladine himself had rallied: all engage close, and mix together, making one universal slaughter; rivers of blood run down on both sides; no quarter given nor prisoners taken: an equal fury animated the soldiers of both parties. If Saladine shewed as much conduct as courage in this action, the two grand masters on their side, bravely followed by their knights, performed prodigies of valour. The grand master Desmoulins, at the head of the hospitallers, pierced several times into the enemy's squadrons; nothing could stand before him. The count of Tripoli, who it is said was disguised on this occasion,

* Contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1, c. 5.

occaſion, and fought in favour of the infidels, to diſpatch ſo terrible a warrior, killed his horſe, who falling down, tumbled upon the grand maſter, and the weight of his armour hindring him from riſing, the infidels pierced his body with a thouſand wounds, even after he was dead, either to revenge the death of their comrades, or becauſe theſe barbarians thought they could never be too ſure that ſo great a commander would not riſe again[a]. Many of the hoſpitallers died bravely over the body of their chief, labouring to ſave it from the fury of the barbarians[b]. At laſt, both parties being ſpent, gave over fighting, and there was no other ground but Saladine's retreat for concluding that the greateſt loſs was on his ſide. 1187.

THE hoſpitallers made a diligent ſearch over the field of battle for the body of their grand maſter to pay him their laſt offices[c]. After a great deal of pains they found it at laſt under a heap of Turcomans and Sarazens, who had fallen by the edge of his ſcymitar, or whom his knights had, after his death, ſacrificed to their reſentment. He was carried into Acre, and the funeral of that great man was ſolemnized there with the tears of his knights, and the univerſal lamentation of the inhabitants.

THEY proceeded afterwards to the choice of his ſucceſſor; and as the enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and they were in continual expectations of another battle, the hoſpitallers were very ſenſible that they had more need than ever of a general and able warrior to command them. The choice of this juncture fell upon brother Garnier, a native of Napoli in Syria, grand prior of England, and Turcopolier of the order, titles that were inſeparable; which ſhews, that at that GARNIER OF SYRIA.

[a] Eodem die, videlicet calendas Maii, ſexaginta fratres templi, et ſummus magiſter domus hoſpitalis, cum pluribus domus ſuæ fratribus, interfecti ſunt. Reg. Hoveden. in Henr. II.

[b] Chron. de Nangis.

[c] Contin. Will. Tyr. lib. 1. c. 5.

1187. time the dignities were not annexed as they are now, to the different languages and nations of which the order is compoſed.

THE Turcoples, from whence the name of Turcopolier is derived, were antiently, as William of Tyre relates[a], a company of light horſe. The original of the term came from the Turcomans, who gave the name of Turcopoles in general to ſuch children as were born of a Greek mother and a Turcoman father, and were deſigned for the war ſervice. It was afterwards a title of military dignity in the kingdom of Cyprus, from whence it was adopted into the order of St. John. But the hoſpitallers uſed it only to ſignify the colonel general of the infantry. Brother Garnier had reſided for ſome time in England, in quality of bailiff and turcopolier of the order. During that time king Henry II. having expelled the canons regular out of the famous abbey of Buckland, for living too licentiouſly, gave this monaſtery to the order, and brother Garnier put ſome nuns that were hoſpitallers of St. John into it. This great bailiff came back afterwards into Paleſtine, to ſhare in the dangers and glory of his brethren; and his valour and virtues advanced him to the dignity of grand maſter, upon the death of brother Roger Desmoulins.

HIS firſt care was to recal the greateſt part of the knights, who were diſperſed in various places[b]; and he received likeways ſeveral novices into the order, to ſupply the room of ſuch as were loſt in the laſt action, and to put himſelf in a condition of making head with ſucceſs againſt the arms of Saladine.

THAT prince, by agreement with the count of Tripoli, and the better to conceal their correſpondence, laid ſiege to Tiberias, which belonged to the count, in right of Eſchine his wife, who made her ordinary reſidence there. The town was carried immediately, and

[a] Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 7. l. 19. c. 24. l. 22. c. 9. Aſſiſes du Royaume de Jeruſalem p. 458. Hiſtoire del' Iſle de Cypre, par Etienne de Luſignan. Albert. Acq. l. 5. c. 3.

[b] Nangis ad An. 1188.

and the counteſs, who knew nothing of her husband's treaſon, retired into the caſtle which was better fortified. The traitor Raimond, as if he had been very anxious about the ſucceſs of the ſiege, cries out for ſuccour, calls all his friends about him, and lays before the king the great importance of the place, which covered all the frontier on that ſide. They reſolved immediately to throw in ſuccours, coſt what it would. The king prepared to march himſelf at the head of what forces he had got together; but the count, who had amind to deliver all the forces of the kingdom up at once to Saladine, remonſtrated to the king, that if he advanced with an army ſo much inferior to that of the ſultan, he would expoſe himſelf infallibly to a defeat; that Saladine had at leaſt 80000 horſe beſides his foot, and that to oppoſe ſo formidable a power, it was neceſſary to draw all the garriſons out of the ſtrong towns, and bring into the field all the inhabitants that were able to bear arms, in order to increaſe the army, and have leſs to fear from the number of the infidels.

GUY de Luſignan, who was neither a great ſoldier, nor an able politician, abandoned himſelf to the perfidious council of a reconciled enemy: all the ſtrong towns were drained of their garriſons, and even of their inhabitants, and not a ſoul left in them but old men, women and children. The whole fortune of the kingdom was ſtaked upon this confuſed multitude of ſoldiers, citizens and peaſants, armed ridiculouſly enough, moſt of them marching without any order, and only animated by fury and paſſion.

UPON the approach of the Chriſtians, Saladine drew out of his lines; they ſoon met; the fight laſted for three days, and was very bloody. Guy de Luſignan, by the count of Tripoli's advice, had encamped among the rocks, as in a place where there was no forcing him; but the treacherous count had concealed from him, that the ſoldiers could have no water in that place, but what they muſt paſs though the army of the infidels to fetch. A want of [illegible] a nature was ſoon felt. Neceſſity obliged them to advance

the next day against the enemy, to open themselves a passage to the river. The [a] templars, who were in the van, marched down first into the plain, charged the infidels with their usual valour; and upon the first onset drove them before them. Never had those brave warriors distinguished themselves by so much courage and intrepidity on any occasion. They pierced and broke the first squadrons of the infidels; but the count of Tripoli, who commanded the body that was to sustain them, instead of following the path which those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had opened to victory, abandoned them, and fled by compact with Saladine, who let him escape; and the templars being left alone in the plain, were overborn by the multitude of their enemies, and were all killed or taken prisoners: the rest of the army retired into their camp in the rocks, where that traitor, the count of Tripoli, had insnared them. The flight of that prince, whose capacity and valour they had a great opinion of, made the Christians think the affair was desperate. They passed the night among the rocks without water, in the month of July. Saladine, to add to the heat of the season, set fire to the woods that grew upon the mountain, and encircled the camp of the Christians; the soldiers, half dead with thirst and weariness, lay down upon the ground, giving themselves no concern about the enemy, as thinking death was not the worst of evils. Saladine having notice from some deserters, that there was no longer any order or command observed in the camp, attacked it, and found but a weak resistance. It was not so much a fight as a butchery. The Turcomans and Sarazens gave no quarter; rivers of blood ran

[a] Templarii robustissimo in hostem impetu procurrentes, primarum hostium turmarum densitatem ruperunt, et earum vel stragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verumtunc demum nostrorum nefanda proditio et nefaria cum hoste collusio claruit; comes enim Tripolitanus, cæterique optimates cum turmis suis, spreta dispositione regia, præclaram illam templi militiam, hostes fortiter proterentem, dum non sequerentur, periclitari fecere; atque ita templarii, consertissimis hostium cuneis, nullo sequente, immersi illico vel victima vel præda fuere. Will. Neubrig. l. 3. p. 430.

ran down between the rocks; the whole army was either deſtroyed or taken priſoners; the king, the grand maſter of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and a great number of the nobility and knights of St. John and the temple fell alive into the infidels hands. The Turks took likeways the true croſs, which was uſually carried into the field. The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, after ſome feats of incredible valour, made his eſcape though all over wounds, and opened his way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's ſquadrons: he reached Aſcalon, but died the next day of his wounds.

SALADINE, who flattered himſelf that by the extinction of the military orders he ſhould the more eaſily make himſelf maſter of the Holy Land[a], notified to the hoſpitallers and templars who were priſoners of war, that they had no way to avoid death but by changing their religion, and renouncing Jeſus Chriſt: but theſe noble warriors offered themſelves with ſatisfaction to the ſlaughter; they were all put to death by the barbarians[b]; and the conſtancy and firmneſs with which they received it, animating the faith of the common ſoldiers, ſeveral of them that were only ſeculars, by an innocent fraud, cried out that they were templars, and, as if afraid of wanting executioners, they preſſed forward, ſtriving with one another which ſhould be firſt ſacrificed by the ſword of the infidels.

THE ſultan after this gave orders to bring the king into his tent, with the grand maſter of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and the other noblemen that were taken priſoners, none of whom expected a more favourable fate. Saladine, to remove the king's apprehenſions, made him ſit down by him, and ſeeing the unfortunate prince half dead with thirſt and wearineſs,

[a] Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 43 Rog. Hoveden, p. 637. Herold. contin. belli ſacri, l. 1. p. 14.

[b] Milites templi et hoſpitalis quos in campo non voraverat gladius, ab aliis ſeg egatè captivis Saladinus [illegible] ſe decollari præcepit. Rog. Hoved. p. 637.

Quotquot templarii et hoſpitalarii inveniuntur, protinus decollantur iidem. Nangis ad an. 1187.

neſs, ordered a liquor to be brought him that was agreeable to the taſte, and cooled in ſnow. The king having drank, gave the cup to Renaud, but the ſultan oppoſed it, and told the king by his interpreter, "'Tis "for you that I ſent for this liquor, and not for that "vile man, who is never to hope for quarter". To underſtand the meaning of theſe words, it muſt be obſerved, that among theſe infidels, the rights of hoſpitality were inviolable, and thoſe barbarians never put their priſoners to death, when they had once given them any thing to eat or drink with their own hand.

'TWAS for this reaſon that Saladine hindered Renaud from drinking after the king; he reproached him heavily with the truces that he had violated, his robberies, and his inhumanity towards the priſoners, which he had taken rather, ſaid he, as a robber, than according to the rules of war; and withal imputed him as the greateſt of crimes, according to the principles of his religion, the deſign he had formed of ſurprizing and plundering Mecca and Medina. "You "muſt then, to repair ſuch a ſeries of outrages, ſays "the ſultan in a louder tone, either renounce Jeſus "Chriſt immediately, or die a victim to our prophet's "vengeance". Renaud, bold and intrepid even under the ſword of the enemy, anſwered him, that a Chriſtian did not know what it was to purchaſe his life by ſuch a baſeneſs. Saladine thereupon, tranſported with wrath, drew his ſcymitar and ſtruck off his head, making a martyr of that noble man, who by ſo chriſtian and brave an end, atoned for what was leſs juſtifiable in his manner of making war. The ſultan, at the king's requeſt, ſpared the life of the grand maſter of the templars, ſending him to Damaſcus, with the king and the other priſoners, from whom he expected to draw a vaſt ranſom.

THE kingdom of Jeruſalem was in a terrible deſolation; there were no troops nor any leaders to command them; the towns were left without inhabitants; the two military orders had loſt the greateſt part of their knights; and of the two grand maſters, one was

juſt

juſt dead of the wounds he had received in battle, and the grand maſter of the temple was a priſoner at Damaſcus.

IN this melancholy ſituation, the hoſpitallers that were left aſſembled to proceed to the choice of a new grand maſter. One might then have ſaid of that great poſt, what St. Paul ſays of the epiſcopal office, on account of the ſufferings and perſecutions attending it, that it was a meritorious work to deſire that eminent dignity. In truth, they were forced to offer a ſort of violence to brother Ermengard Daps, to oblige him in that diſmal juncture to take the government upon him. This order that was lately ſo powerful and formidable to the infidels, was now almoſt extinct by the great number of knights that were loſt in the late battles; and the few that had eſcaped the fury of the Sarazens, were in continual expectation of undergoing the ſame fate; the grand maſter at the ſame time being unable to diſcover any reſource for himſelf and his brethren but an honourable death if they failed of victory. ERMENGARD DAPS.

SALADINE, to make his advantage of the general conſternation, followed the torrent of his fortune; moſt of the fortified places of the kingdom opened their gates to him; the city of St. John d'Acre, deſtitute of military friars, its brave defenders, held out but two days; and of all the conqueſts of the Chriſtians none were left but Jeruſalem, Tyre, Aſcalon, Tripoli and Antioch: and of theſe two laſt places one was independent of the crown of Jeruſalem, and the other was only held of it in fief.

To give a better notion of the deplorable condition of that kingdom, it may not be improper to inſert here the circular letter which a templar, a ſorrowful witneſs of this fatal revolution, wrote to his brethren of the weſt, after the battle of Tiberias.

"BROTHER Thierri grand preceptor, the poor "convent and whole order, but now almoſt reduced "to nothing, To all the preceptors and all our bre- "thren of the temple, ſend greeting in him to whom

"we

" we addreſs our groans, and whom the ſun and the " moon adore.

" WE cannot, our deareſt brethren, expreſs to you " by theſe letters, nor even by tears of blood, all the " calamities that our ſins have drawn upon our heads. " The Turcomans, that barbarous nation, having co- " vered the face of the land, we advanced to relieve " the caſtle of Tiberias, which thoſe infidels were be- " ſieging; an engagement ſoon enſued, but the ene- " my having driven us into rocks and craggy moun- " tains, our troops were cut in pieces; thirty thou- " ſand men fell in that fatal day. The king is taken, " and what is ſtill more deplorable, the precious " wood of the true croſs is fallen into the hands of the " infidels. Saladine, to crown his victory, has cut " off the heads of two hundred and thirty of our " brethren who were taken in battle, without rec- " koning ſixty others that we loſt in a former en- " gagement. The ſovereign of the barbarians is al- " ready maſter of the principal towns of the king- " dom. The Chriſtians have nothing left but Jeru- " ſalem, Aſcalon, Tyre and Berytus, and even the gar- " riſons and chief inhabitants of theſe places periſhed " in the battle of Tiberias: ſo that it is impoſſible " without the ſuccour of heaven, and your aſſiſtance, " to preſerve them, &c."

BUT this aſſiſtance was too remote, and there was no likelihood of its arriving time enough to ſtop the progreſs of Saladine's arms. That conqueror, after reducing St. John d'Acre, Jaffa, Napolouſa, Sebaſte, Nazareth, Sefurieth, Cæſarea, Sidon and Berytus, marched ſtraight to the capital, and inveſted Jeruſalem, the main deſign that he had in view. The queen was in it; but the city had no body to defend it but the inhbitants, the chief of which too, being Greeks by religion, were ſecret enemies of the Latins. Saladine, who knew their diſpoſition well, and thought himſelf already maſter of the place, refuſed to come to any compoſition with the queen. That princeſs, after a ſlight reſiſtance, had deſired to capitulate. Saladine

ſent

ſent her word, that he was reſolved to enter the place ſword in hand, to revenge, as he ſaid, the blood of ſo many Muſſulmen maſſacred by the Chriſtians in the time of Godfrey de Bouillon. The cruelty of this anſwer made the Latin Chriſtians reſolve to bury themſelves in the ruins of the place: Men, women, and children, all took arms; and deſpair ſupplying the place of valour, they ſtood the infidels attacks with ſo reſolute a courage, that the ſultan, either apprehending ſome revolution, or at leaſt fearing that the length of the ſiege might retard the other conqueſts that he propoſed, conſented at laſt to enter into a negotiation; and the treaty was ſigned on both ſides the fourteenth day of the ſiege. It was agreed by the capitulation, that the queen ſhould deliver up the town in the condition it was in, and without demoliſhing any thing; that the gentry and military perſons ſhould march out with their arms, and have a convoy to conduct them to Tyre or any other town they pleaſed; that with regard to the inhabitants, the natural Greeks might ſtay there, but all ſuch as were Latins by deſcent, ſhould be obliged to leave the place; and to ſhew, that he was maſter of their lives and liberty, he would make them pay for their ranſom, the men ten crowns of gold, the women five, and two for every child; and that all who could not pay theſe reſpective rates, ſhould remain ſlaves to the conqueror.

ALL the night long, which uſhered in the execution of this diſmal treaty, nothing was to be heard in Jeruſalem, but the groans, wailings and cries of the miſerable inhabitants, lamenting their fate, and that they were obliged to deliver up the holy city with their own hands to the infidels. Men, women and children, young and old, proſtrated themſelves before the holy ſepulchre, bathing it with their tears, kiſſing and embracing it, and being unable to part from it, in fine, the day broke, and the diſmal moment arrived, when the gates were to be opened to the victorious enemy. The infidels took poſſeſſion of the place; but Saladine, attended with his principal officers, would

would not make his entry till all the Latin Chriſtians were gone out. The firſt who appeared in the mournful proceſſion, were mothers loaded with their little children, that were as yet unable to walk; others led by the hand ſuch as were a little ſtronger; the men carried the proviſions and the ſmall houſhold goods neceſſary for their families; the queen, encircled with the military men that were left, came after the people, accompanied with the two little princeſſes her daughters, the patriarch and his clergy, and followed by all the perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes. Saladine, as the queen drew near, advanced to meet her, ſpoke to her with great reſpect, and to comfort her, gave her hopes of ſetting the king her husband at liberty, in conſideration of a moderate ranſom. Some Chriſtian ladies of the queen's retinue, whoſe husbands had been taken by Saladine during the war, paſſing before that prince, and being ſeized with a freſh ſenſe of their afflictions at his ſight, gave terrible ſhrieks, and held up their hands like ſuppliants. The prince enquiring what they had to ask him, one of the ladies coming up to him ſaid, "We have loſt our all, ſir, but one "word of yours can eaſe the grief that ſo ſenſibly af-"flicts us. Give us back our fathers, our brothers, "and our husbands, that by the fortune of war are "your priſoners, and we freely abandon to you all "the reſt. With pledges ſo dear as they, we cannot "be entirely miſerable; they will take care of us, and "the God whom we adore, who provides even for "the birds of the air, will provide for our children."

SALADINE, who had nothing of the barbarian in him but his birth, touched with the tears of theſe ladies, who had thrown themſelves at his feet, after making them riſe up, ordered all the priſoners that they claimed to be delivered to them. He added likeways to this grace ſome preſents that he made them, and what ſhewed a great fund of humanity in this ſultan, after his entry into Jeruſalem, being informed of the care which the hoſpitallers took of the ſick and wounded, he gave thoſe knights, though enemies of

his

his religion, leave to ſtay in Jeruſalem a year longer, till the ſick were entirely cured.

THUS Jeruſalem, eighty eight years after the conqueſt of it by the firſt cruſade, fell again under the dominion of the infidels. Saladine, before he entered into the city, cauſed the bells to be broken and melted down, and the patriarchal church to be waſhed with roſe water. This church was built at firſt upon the old ruins of the temple of Solomon by the caliph Omar, who, in A. D. 636, having taken Jeruſalem, made it the principal moſque. This moſque, which was by the infidels called Alaxa, was turned into a church upon the conqueſt of Godfrey de Bouillon; and the pilgrims were ſo impoſed on by a falſe tradition, that they believed it to be the very temple of Solomon that was deſtroyed by the Romans, and rebuilt afterwards by the Chriſtians. However this be, Saladine being maſter of the city, the queen retired with the princeſſes her daughters to Aſcalon; the inhabitants of Jeruſalem diſperſed themſelves into different places of Aſia and Europe; ſome took refuge at Tripoli, others made their way to Antioch, and a great number, deſpairing ever to ſee the kingdom of Jeruſalem reſtored, paſſed as far as Sicily and Italy. It was at this time, as we are told, that the nuns hoſpitallers of St. John, flying from the confuſions of war, retired into Europe with the grand maſter's permiſſion, where they afterwards made conſiderable ſettlements, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work.

THIERRY, grand preceptor of the templars, in a letter that he wrote to Henry king of England, gave him an account of this ſtrange revolution; and as ſuch original pieces are of great authority in hiſtory, we fancy the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find a letter here inſerted, that relates the miſerable circumſtances of theſe great events.

" KNOW, great king, ſays the templar to him, that " Saladine has taken the city of Jeruſalem, and the " tower of David; the Syrian Chriſtians [illegible] allowed " to guard the holy ſepulchre only till the fourth day

" after next Michaelmas; the hoſpitallers are permit-
" ted to ſtay a year longer in their houſes, to take
" care of the ſick; the knights of that order, who
" are in the caſtle of Beauvoir, diſtinguiſh themſelves
" every day by their various enterprizes againſt the
" Sarazens; they have lately taken two caravans
" from the infidels, in the firſt of which they found
" the arms and ammunition which the Turks were
" tranſporting from the fortreſs of la Fere, after they
" had demoliſhed it. Carac, in the neighbourhood
" of Mont-royal, Mont royal itſelf, Sapheta of the
" temple, another Carac, and Margat, which belongs
" to the hoſpitallers, Caſtelblanco, Tripoli and Anti-
" och, ſtill hold out againſt all the efforts of the Turks.
" Saladine has cauſed the great croſs to be taken down
" from the dome of the church, that was built on the
" ground of Solomon's temple, and for two days to-
" gether it was dragged ignominiouſly through the
" ſtreets, trampled under foot, and defiled with dirt.
" They have waſhed the inſide and outſide of that
" church with roſe water, by way of purification, in
" order to make a moſque of it, and there they have
" ſolemnly proclaimed the law of Mahomet. The
" Turks have laid ſiege to Tyre ever ſince Martin-
" mas; a great number of military engines play upon
" it day and night, throwing in continually ſquare
" ſtones of a vaſt bigneſs. Young Conrad, ſon to
" the marqueſs of Montferrat, has ſhut himſelf up in
" the place, and makes a gallant defence, being well
" ſeconded by the knights of St. John and the tem-
" plars; on the eve of St. Silveſter, ſeventeen Chri-
" ſtian galleys, with thoſe brave friars on board, ſail-
" ed out of the port, with ten other Sicilian veſſels,
" commanded by general Margarit, a Catalan by na-
" tion, and attacked the fleet of Saladine, in a man-
" ner before his eyes; the infidels were defeated; the
" great admiral of Alexandria, and eight emirs were
" made priſoners, they took eleven Ships, and a great
" number ran a ground on the coaſt, which Saladine
" ſet on fire, and burnt to aſhes, for fear they ſhould

" fall

" fall into the hands of the Chriſtians. That prince " appeared the next day in his camp, mounted on " the fineſt of his horſes, whoſe tail and ears he had " cut, making thus a publick acknowledgment of the " defeat he had received, and of the trouble it gave " him."

To have a right notion of what paſſed at the ſiege of Tyre, it muſt be obſerved, that Saladine, after the taking of Jeruſalem, beſieged Aſcalon, which the queen ſurrendered to him, in conſideration of his ſetting the king her husband, the grand maſter of the templars, and fifteen other noblemen at liberty; and by his treaty, Guy de Luſignan made a ſolemn renunciation of the title of king of Jeruſalem. This prince, with the queen his wife, retired afterwards to a caſtle by the ſea ſide, where they were rather hid than in a condition to defend themſelves. Saladine, without troubling himſelf about an enemy whom he deſpiſed, marched from Aſcalon to lay ſiege to Tyre, an ancient and famous city of Phœnicia, celebrated in holy writ for its king Hiram, the friend of Solomon, and renowned in hiſtory for the ſiege laid to it by Alexander the great, againſt whom it held out ſeven compleat months, and had not been then taken, if that prince had not joined the iſle, in which it ſtands, to the main land, by means of a bank, which he raiſed to fill up the arm of the ſea, which made it an iſland. The inhabitants, degenerated from the bravery of their anceſtors, and dreading the miſeries of a place carried by ſtorm, were preparing, upon Saladine's approach, to go to meet him, and offer him the keys of the city, when young Conrad, the laſt of the marqueſs of Montferrat's ſons, being come into the Holy Land, out of zeal to contribute to his father's liberty, who was then Saladine's priſoner, encouraged them to make an honourable defence, and offered them his ſervice; but he added, that he would not ſhed a drop of his blood for ſuch a coward of a prince as Guy de Luſignan, and inſiſted, that if he had the good fortune, as he hoped, to preſerve the place, they ſhould

engage by a ſolemn treaty, to acknowledge him for their lord. The Tyrians, deſerted by their ſovereign, and left to themſelves, agreed to the condition. Conrad called in to his aſſiſtance a conſiderable number of the knights of St. John, who put themſelves at the head of the inhabitants, and ſoon made ſuch ſoldiers of them, that they ſeemed to be animated with the ſame ſpirit and courage; the very women did their part, either ſhooting arrows at the beſiegers, or carrying victuals to their husbands, who lay upon the ramparts. Never was the place more bravely defended from the time that Alexander the great laid ſiege to it. Saladine, diſcouraged at the length of a ſiege that ſtopped the progreſs of his arms, reſolved to raiſe it; but before he decamped, he cauſed the marqueſs's father, whom he had taken priſoner, at the battle of Tiberias, to be carried before the walls, and an herald being admitted into the place, declared to young Conrad, that they were going that inſtant to cut off his father's head, if he would not ſurrender Tyre to the ſultan.

THE young prince, divided between two duties, which ſeemed to him equally indiſpenſable, was to determine, whether he ſhould ſave his father's life, or abandon a Chriſtian people, to whom he had pledged his faith. To extricate himſelf from this difficulty, he affected a firmneſs, that went even to an indifference; "Go, ſays he, to the herald, tell your maſter from me, "that he can't put a priſoner of war to death, that "ſurrendered upon his parole, without the utmoſt "diſhonour to himſelf, and that, for my part, I ſhall "think myſelf happy to have had a martyr of Jeſus "Chriſt for my father." After this they began to ſhoot afreſh from the city; but the ſoldiers had private orders given them, not to point their arrows towards the place where the old marqueſs was expoſed in chains. The ſultan, who had no particular reaſon to deſtroy that prince, from whom too he expected a great ranſom, ſent him back to priſon, and raiſed the ſiege. No ſooner was he retired to a convenient diſtance,

ſtance, but the king of Jeruſalem quitted his retreat, with a deſign to reap the fruit of young Montferrat's valour. He preſented himſelf before the place, and was going to enter as the ſovereign of it; but he found the gates ſhut, and the inhabitants cried out to him, that they were ſurprized he had forgot the duty he owed to his ſubjects during the ſiege; that he was come a little too late; that a braver perſon than he had taken his place, and acquired the lordſhip of Tyre by the juſteſt of all titles, for having defended it valiantly at the hazard of his life againſt the infidels [a]. Guy de Luſignan was forced to retire; but theſe reciprocal pretenſions raiſed a ſort of civil war between the two princes. The grand maſter of the templars, either becauſe he thought the king's cauſe the juſteſt, or by reaſon of the particular friendſhip contracted between them during their common impriſonment, declared himſelf openly againſt the marqueſs of Montferrat. He not only treated him as an uſurper, but hindered ſupplies of proviſions and ammunition from being brought into the place; and in prejudice of the common intereſts of Chriſtianity, as well as in breach of that nice honour and fidelity, that the nature of a truſt requires, he diverted to other uſes a conſiderable ſum of money which the king of England, charmed with the reputation of young Conrad, had ſent him to fortify Tyre, and maintain a garriſon in it. This we learn from a letter of young Conrad's to the archbiſhop of Canterbury: "I am become odious, ſays he, to Guy de Luſignan, formerly king of Jeruſalem, and to the "grand maſter of the templars, for having maintained, and for ſtill maintaining the city of Tyre, againſt "all the efforts of the infidels. They attack my ho"nour, they wound my reputation; they hinder ſuc"cours from entering into the place, and, what is of "a more crying nature, the grand maſter of the tem"plars has ſeized the money that the king of England "ſent me; which obliges me to complain to you with "infinite concern. As for the hoſpitallers, I muſt

[a] Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 19. p. 432.

" neceſſarily commend them, and I call God and " you to witneſs my ſincere acknowledgments to men, " who, ever ſince they took arms for defence of the " place, have been continually rendering us very im- " portant ſervices; and far from detaining, as the " templars do, that part of the king of England's mo- " ney which they were to furniſh us, we aſſure you, " they have ſpent above eight thouſand pieces of their " own money in the defence of Tyre; and to prevent " its falling into the hands of the infidels, who, not- " withſtanding their formidable power, were obliged " ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege, &c."

SALADINE, having given over that enterpriſe, turned his arms, with better ſucceſs, againſt the principality of Antioch. He made himſelf maſter of twenty five towns and caſtles, into which he put ſtrong garriſons, that kept the capital in a manner blocked up. The governors and magiſtrates in general, for fear of death or plunder, went a great way to meet the conqueror, and receive their chains; all fell before ſo formidable a power, and the Chriſtians had nothing left but Antioch, Tyre and Tripoli.

THE count of Tripoli, the wretched inſtrument of the loſs of the Holy Land, ſeeing his enemy dethroned, and become a fugitive and vagabond in his own dominions, ſummoned Saladine, purſuant to their treaty, to put him in poſſeſſion of the crown, and deliver him the places of which he had facilitated the conqueſt by his flight at the battle of Tiberias: but the ſultan deſpiſing the traitor, whoſe treaſon had been ſo uſeful to him, anſwered his pretenſions only with the moſt cutting railleries. The count, enraged at his breach of promiſe, and ſeeing himſelf odious and exerecrable to both ſides, fell into deſpair, his ſenſes * began to fail him, he ran diſtracted, and died ſoon after, raving perpetually with reſentment and rage. When they ſtripped him, in order to lay him out, they found that he

* Ex delorie vehementia in amentiam verſus, horrenda morte defecit. Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 432.

he had turned Mahometan [a]. The counteſs his widow, by whom he left no iſſue, ſeeing herſelf without any reſource, applied to Raimond, prince of Antioch, for aſſiſtance, and delivered up Tripoli and its dependences to him, as being the neareſt of kin.

THE numerous armies of Saladine, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, leaving the Latin Chriſtians no hopes but from the princes of the weſt, they deputed William archbiſhop of Tyre, author of the hiſtory of the Holy Land, to go and implore their ſuccour. That embaſſador went firſt into Italy, and gave Urban III. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, an account of the fatal event of the battle of Tiberias, and of the loſs of Jeruſalem.

ALL Europe was in a conſternation at this diſmal news, and the pope is ſaid to have died of grief. Gregory VIII. his ſucceſſor, who ſat but two months in the holy ſee, appointed publick prayers and faſts upon the occaſion. The people of Italy, in the height of aſtoniſhment and affliction, cried out, that they were unworthy of the name of Chriſtians, and of ever having part in the kingdom of heaven, if they did not go to deliver the heritage of the ſon of God from the dominion of the infidels. A contemporary writer adds, that the cardinals made a reſolution [b] to renounce all kind of diverſions and pleaſures, to receive no preſents from any that had cauſes depending in the court of Rome, and never to mount a horſe as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels; to be themſelves the firſt in the cruſade, to go to the holy war on foot, at the head of the pilgrims, and even to ſubſiſt by asking alms on the road. But there was a great deal more oſtentation in theſe

[a] Res diſſimulari non potuit; nam corpore defuncti nudato, quia nuper circumciſionis ſtigma ſuſceperat, apparuit; unde palam fuit quod ſe Salahadino confœderans, ſectam Sarracenicam ceperat obſervandum, poſtquam Tripolis urbis dominium filius principis Antiochiæ de jure obtinuit parentelæ. Nangis ibid.

[b] Firmiter inter ſe promiſerunt quod de cætero nulla munera recipient ab aliquo qui cauſam habeat in curia; non aſcendent in equum, quamdiu terra in qua pedes domini ſteterunt, fuerit ſub pedibus inimici. Roger de Hoveden p. 636.

these discourses than zeal and true piety. The cardinals staid at Rome; no alteration appeared in their conduct, and the embassay of the archbishop of Tyre would have had no better success than that of Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, before mentioned, had not the emperor Frederick I. Philip II. king of France, and Henry II. king of England, generously entered into the crusade with most of the princes of Europe.

POPE Clement III. successor to Gregory VIII. for want of more substantial succours, named the archbishop of Tyre for legate of the holy see, and appointed cardinal Henry bishop of Albano for his colleague. These prelates prevailed with the kings of France and England, to meet at a conference held between Trie and Gisors, a place that be-
1183. longed then to the king of England as
July 15. duke of Normandy. The archbishop of Tyre, overflowing with grief, laboured to to inspire into them the same zeal that he felt himself. He laid before that august assembly the groans of the holy city, that was again fallen under the tyranny of the infidels; the loss of so many Christians sacrificed to the fury of the barbarians; the captivity of some, the exile of others, and what was still more deplorable, the numbers of young children of both sexes that were born free, now made slaves, before they could be sensible of all their misery, and to be brought up in error after the infidels had prepossessed their minds, and imposed on their reason. He enlarged afterwards upon the various artifices and cruelties that these babarians tried one after another to pervert such as were grown up; and he made so moving a description of the dismal condition the Latin Christians were reduced to, that melting into tears himself, he drew them likeways from all his auditory.

THE two kings almost always at war with one another, were then ready to begin a new one; but upon this report of the miseries of the holy city, all was pacified, and their clashing interests united in the single view of delivering Palestine from the dominion of the infidels.

infidels. Philip and Henry embraced one another, put on the croſs, and promiſed to join their forces, and paſs by concert into the eaſt.

SEVERAL aſſemblies were held in their reſpective ſtates, to raiſe the funds neceſſary for ſo great an armament; and they came to a reſolution both in France and England, that ſuch as would not take the croſs upon them, ſhould give at leaſt the tenth of all their goods, moveable and immoveable, which occaſioned this tax to be called the Saladine Tythe, becauſe the main end in levying this money, was to defray the expences of the war, to be carried on againſt that prince. The orders of the Ciſtercians, Chartreux, Fontevrault, and the congregation of the friar Lazars were exempt from this ſubſidy. Petrus Bleſenſis pretended, from their example, that the ſecular clergy ought not to be charged with it, and wrote upon that occaſion to Henry de Dreux, biſhop of Orleans, and couſin german to king Philip. "The prince, ſays he, to him in his "letter [a], ought to exact nothing from the biſhops "and clergy, but continual prayers for the ſucceſs of "his arms; if the king [b] will needs engage in this "enterprize, let him not raiſe the expence out of the "ſpoils of the church and poor, but out of his own "particular revenues, or the booty that he ſhall "take from the infidels, with which he ought to en-"rich the church, and not plunder it, under pretence "of defending it. The church is free, ſays he, in ano-"ther place, in virtue of the liberty which Chriſt has "purchaſed for us; but if they load it with exactions, "this is to reduce it to a ſtate of ſervitude like Agar." We ſee here a gingle of words, the ſame that we have already ſpoken of; and that under the equivocal terms of the church and liberty, it looks as if the Chriſtian

[a] Reverendiſſime et dilectiſſime pater mi, tuæ diſcretioni committo religioſorum quietem, pacem ſimplicium, cauſam Chriſti, et eccleſiæ libertatem. Epiſt. 112.

[b] Si autem propoſuit hujus peregrinationis iter arripere, non de ſpoliis eccleſiarum, non de ſudoribus pauperum viaticum ſibi et ſuis exhibeat, ſed de reditibus propriis aut de præda hoſtili bella Chriſti conficiat. Idem. Epiſt. 121.

Chriſtian church was compoſed only of the clergy, or that the ſaviour of mankind had delivered us from ſomething elſe beſides ſin.

THE eloquence of Peter Bleſenſis, which was ill employed on this occaſion, did not hinder the raiſing of immenſe ſums in France and England. Commiſſioners were appointed to collect the money, among which were an hoſpitaller and a templar, deputed by the two military orders, to ſolicit this armament, which they were to accompany themſelves, and to ſerve for the principal guides to it [a].

RICHARD I. who had juſt ſucceeded Henry II. his father, when he received his crown, took upon him that prince's engagements for the relief of the Holy Land. He levied an army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, which he embarked, with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, on board a prodigious number of veſſels of different bulk. This embarkation was made at Dover, from whence he paſſed into Flanders, and thence into Normandy, where he held a meeting of the eſtates of the country. 'Tis ſaid, that during his ſtay in that province, a holy prieſt, named Fulk, incumbent of Neuilli, famous for his ſermons, and a preacher of the cruſade, after great encomiums on the Engliſh prince's zeal for the ſuccour of the Holy Land, told him, with a couragious liberty, that to engage the bleſſing of heaven upon his arms, he ought to part with three pernicious paſſions, which he called the three daughters of that prince, pride, avarice and luxury; and that the king
1189. of England, the haughtieſt man on earth, anſwered him bluntly, with a taunting recrimination, "I cannot diſpoſe of my three daugh-"ters better, than by giving, as I do, the firſt to the "templars, the ſecond to the Ciſtertian monks, and "the third to the biſhops of my own domions." This prince

[a] Colligatur autem pecunia illa in ſingulis parochiis, præſenti presbytero parochiæ et archipresbytero et uno templario et uno hoſpitalario, et ſerviente regis, et Clerico regis. Rog. de Hoveden. p. 641.

prince ſoon after joined Philip Auguſtus at Vezelay, on the frontiers of Burgundy; and after paſſing the Rhone they took different roads. The king of France marched towards Genoa, where his fleet was waiting for him, and the king of England went to Marſeilles, where he embarked; and the general rendezvous was at the port of Meſſina in Sicily.

BEFORE the two kings ſet out, and whilſt they were buſy in raiſing troops and money in their dominions, the two legates paſſed into Germany, and came to Mentz, where the emperor Frederic I. called Barbaroſſa, was holding a general diet of the empire on the ſame ſubject. He was a prince eminent for his valour, and though advanced in years, yet he generouſly took the croſs upon him, together with Frederic duke of Suabia his ſon. Sixty eight princes or great lords of Germany, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal, followed the example of their ſovereign, and put on the croſs; and in order to their march, the general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Ratisbonne, whither all that were engaged in the cruſade had orders to repair on the twenty third of April the year enſuing.

THE Chriſtian part of Spain had no ſhare in this great armament of Europe. The kings of Caſtile, Arragon and Navarre, had their hands but too full in oppoſing the Moors and Sarazens, who had ſeized as is well known, upon the fineſt provinces of that great monarchy. The queen of Arragon, infinitely afflicted for the loſs of the Holy Land, and acquainted with the diſperſion and miſeries of its inhabitants, reſolved to found a monaſtery for ladies of the order of St. John, the better to preſerve the memory of ſo many illuſtrious knights of that order, as had lately periſhed in Paleſtine.

THIS princeſs, named Sancha, was daughter to Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and wife to another Alphonſus the ſecond of the name, called the chaſt, king of Arragon, ſon to Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and afterwards king of Arragon, whom we have

have ſpoken of before, on occaſion of the treaty between that prince and the grand maſter Raimond Dupuy, touching the ſucceſſion of the crown of Arragon.

QUEEN Sancha his daughter, being married into a family that had long bore an affection to the order, eſpouſed the ſame ſentiments, and formed a deſign of founding a monaſtery of nuns hoſpitallers at Sixenne, a village ſituated between Saragoſſa and Lerida, and depending on the caſtellany of Empoſta, a grand priory of the language of Arragon. The queen gave brother Garcia de Liſa, the then caſtellan, other conſiderable lands near Tarragona in exchange for it; and after communicating her project to Raimond Berenger, a knight and proviſor of the order in Arragon, this pious princeſs laid the foundation of a palace rather than a convent; and as ſhe conſidered, that this houſe might ſerve one day for a retreat to herſelf, and in future times to other princeſſes of the royal family, nothing was omitted with regard either to the magnificence and convenience of the buildings, or to the largeneſs of the incloſure about it, or in fine to the greatneſs and ſecurity of the revenues. This royal convent was founded for ſixty ladies of noble birth, who were to be admitted without any portion; and ſuch as were of the kingdom of Arragon or Catalonia, were to be of an extraction ſo illuſtrious and ſo publickly known, that they ſhould have no need to produce their proofs.

WE have obſerved, that hiſtorians do not tell us preciſely to what part of Chriſtendom the nuns hoſpitallers of the houſe of Jeruſalem retired after the loſs of that capital of Judæa. There is reaſon to think, that it was upon their account that this pious princeſs founded this famous convent in the year following, to ſerve them for a retreat and aſylum; and we are the more inclined to embrace this opinion, becauſe the priory of Sixenne was founded immediately after the loſs of the holy city. But after all, as this is but a conjecture, founded merely on the agreement of the time, we ſhall only obſerve by the by, that this foundation

was

was followed by many others of the ſame order as well in Catalonia as in Italy, France and Portugal, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

THE monaſtery of Sixenne became ſoon the moſt famous in the kingdom. The king, at the queen's inſtance, endowed it with large revenues; pope Celeſtine III. put theſe nuns, like the hoſpitallers, under the rule of St. Auguſtine, as may be ſeen in the bull of that ſovereign pontiff, bearing date A. D. 1193. Their habit was a robe of Scarlet or red cloth with a black mantle á bec, upon which was the white croſs with eight points directly upon the heart; they had a particular breviary: they wore at church rochets of fine linen; and in memory of the queen their foundreſs they held a ſilver ſcepter in their hands during the office and divine ſervice.

THE prioreſs preſented to vacant benefices, and had even the privilege of giving the habit of obedience to ſuch prieſts as ſerved their church. She viſits even now her lands with her dames aſſiſting her, and is a member of the provincial chapters of the order in Arragon, has a voice and ſeat there after the Caſtellan of Empoſta; and when the chapter of the order is held at Saragoſſa, the chapter of the cathedral ſend her her canonical portion as bendareſs of that church.

QUEEN Sancha, after the king her husband's death, retired into this monaſtery with one of the princeſſes her daughters, and it is ſaid, that both of them embraced the monaſtick profeſſion. As we ſhall have occaſion to mention this holy houſe again on occaſion of the alterations that happened afterwards in the government of it, we ſhall only obſerve here, that all manner of Chriſtian virtues were practiſed there in an eminent degree; that theſe nuns hoſpitallers got up at midnight to ſing praiſes to God; that their ſupplications and prayers were almoſt without intermiſſion, and theſe holy virgins were continually lifting up their pure and innocent hands to heaven, to implore his bleſſing on the arms of the knights of St. John their bre-

thren, and ask of God that he would be pleased to deliver holy Sion from under the slavery of the infidels.

THIS pious zeal, so general at that time, of contributing to recover the kingdom of Jerusalem, caused most of the nations of Europe to take up arms; and whilst the king's of France and England were making preparations for that glorious expedition, the most zealous, without staying for those princes, flocked from all quarters into Palestine.

WE have seen above, that Guy de Lusignan, upon his escape out of prison, finding himself a king without a kingdom, retired at first to a castle in the county of Tripoli, where he afterwards mustered together the broken remains of his fortune. Godfrey de Lusignan his brother brought him from the west a fresh body of troops of the crusade; various adventurers, Greeks, Latins and Syrians joined him, and there was formed in a short time a little army of seven or eight thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. This succour, weak as it was, gave him nevertheless some hopes of seeing a change in his fortune: and to secure himself a place of retreat, that should depend on no body but himself, he laid siege to St. John d'Acre, a strong place, with an haven capable of receiving the vessels and succours of the princes of the west. The hospitallers and templars joined the army: there arrived likeways three private crusades, which advanced before the great armies that were expected out of Europe. The landgrave of Thuringia and duke of Gueldres commanded the first, which was entirely composed of Germans: there came another made up of the people of the north, Danes, Frieslanders and Flemings: there arrived too a third, at the head of which were two princes of the house of Dreux, and a considerable number of the greatest lords of the kingdom: there came thither at the same time some Venetians, Lombards and Pisans; and Conrad of the house of Montferrat, prince of Tyre, forgetting his disputes with Guy de Lusignan, would needs share in the perils and glory of the enterprize.

THE

THE Chriſtians began the ſiege, and carried it on at firſt with all the courage and application imaginable. Saladine had put a ſtrong garriſon into the place commanded by Caracos, an old captain of great reputation, under whom Saladine himſelf, before he roſe to that height of grandeur, made his firſt eſſay in arms. This general of the infidels made frequent ſallies; they were continually in action; and we may ſay that theſe ſallies were rather ſo many battles and engagements. Saladine on his ſide advanced with a formidable army to his ſuccour; the Chriſtians went out of their lines to fight him; Guy de Luſignan commanded the firſt body, compoſed of his own troops, of French, and the knights of St. John. The grand maſter of the templars was at the head of his knights, and the Germans, Frieſlanders and other people of the north fought under his banner. The fight laſted a long time with equal animoſity on both ſides, and with douhtful ſucceſs; what appears moſt certain is, that the Chriſtians, though they loſt the grand maſter of the templars, and a great many knights of his order, yet returned victorious into their lines, and Saladine could not force them to raiſe the ſiege, which was the only thing he aimed at.

THAT prince did nothing afterwards, but endeavour to intercept the Convoys of the Chriſtian army. This occaſioned a famine, which was ſoon followed with a contagious ſickneſs. Theſe two plagues deſtroyed more ſoldiers than the ſword of the enemy. Guy de Luſignan ſaw four young princes his children taken off one after another, and Queen Sybille his wife to whom he owed the crown.

THE death of that princeſs occaſioned afterwards new diviſions between the king her husband, and the prince of Tyre. The Queen of Jeruſalem left only one ſiſter named Iſabel, who at eight years of age was married to Humfrey de Thoron the third of the name. Conrad,* a prince young and handſome, full of courage and ambition, found the way to pleaſe that princeſs.

* Chron. de Nangis ad an. 1189.

ceſs. There was no want of reaſons to break off her contract with young Humfrey: the marriage being made againſt her will, perhaps in a prohibited degree as they pretended, furniſhed a pretext for it: it was at leaſt in thoſe times the common reſource of diſcontented husbands. The princeſs's marriage was diſſolved, and the biſhop of Beauvais, without any regard to publick decency, married her the next day to the prince of Tyre. In conſequence of this alliance and the princeſs's right, Conrad took on him the title of king of Jeruſalem; Guy de Luſignan on his ſide, maintained, that the character of royalty was never to be effaced, and that no body could in his lifetime aſſume the title of king in Paleſtine: and to make the diviſion ſtill greater, Humfrey de Thoron, Iſabel's firſt husband, diſputed the ſentence by which his marriage was diſſolved, and put in his claim to the crown. Thus this titulary kingdom, this ſovereignty without ſubjects, had in the ſame army, and at the ſame time, no leſs than three kings, and the queen had two husbands living: but as it was apprehended they might turn their arms againſt one another, they obliged them to refer the deciſion of their pretenſions to the award of the kings of France and England, who were ſet out from their dominions, and as they had advice wintered in Sicily.

DURING the ſtay thoſe two princes made in that iſland, Richard having heard much talk of
1190. Abbé Joachim, who paſſed with the people for a great prophet, ſent for him to Meſſina, and conſulted him about the ſucceſs of the cruſade. The Abbé, without any heſitation, told him, that the holy city would not be delivered till the ſeventh year after its being taken by Saladine. "To what purpoſe then, ſaid the king of England, are we come "ſo ſoon? Your coming, replied the Abbé, was very neceſſary, God will give you the victory over "his enemies, and exalt your name above all the "princes of the earth".

THIS

THIS pretended prophet bore a very doubtful character; ſome looked upon him as a ſaint, others took him for a cheat. It is probable the man meant well, and that there was more fanaticiſm than hypocriſy in his conduct; he was beſides a good man, and of an auſtere life, but he had cracked his brain by meditations, or rather, by his dreams on the revelations. He bragged that he had the key of that myſterious book, and underſtood it as perfectly as St. John who wrote it. He took all his viſions and imaginations for truths; and if by chance he ſucceeded ſometimes in his predictions, he was miſtaken much oftener; as it happened upon what he had declared about the deliverance of the Holy Land, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

IN the mean time the emperor Frederic, though ſeventy years of age, had advanced before theſe princes, ſetting out immediately after eaſter, A. D. 1189. This prince, truly worthy of that auguſt title, after giving the law to the Greeks as he marched through their country, after defeating the ſultan of Iconium or Cogni who diſputed his paſſage, and having, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Mahometans, made his way into Cilicia, fell ſick and died in that province, upon bathing in the river Cydnus, as ſome hiſtorians relate; though others pretend he was drowned in it. The military orders, and particularly that of the hoſpitallers, loſt in Frederic a powerful protector, that during the whole courſe of his reign had diſpenſed his benefactions and favours with great bounty to the order in general, as well as the particular members of it.

THE duke of Swabia his ſon led his army on to the camp before Acre: but it arrived there much reduced and weakened by the fatigues of the road, by ſickneſs and his own victories, which coſt him abundance of men, and a great many officers of diſtinction. The Germans, at their arrival in the camp, found the army of the beſiegers in no better a condition; the continual ſallies of the infidels had much weakened it. The hiſtorian of this ſiege, who has left us a relation of it

in verſe, tells [a] us a paſſage of the knights of St. John, who ſeeing the Turks in a ſally take a great number of priſoners, theſe brave warriors, ſays he, like a bear a going to be robbed of her whelps, got off their horſes, flew into the midſt of the enemies battalions, cut part of them in pieces, reſcued the priſoners, and then mounting on horſeback again, purſued the infidels to the walls of the city. But if the Turks were worſted on this occaſion, the change of air, the difficulty of being ſupplied with proviſions, the continual combats they were engaged in, and the ſickneſs that reigned, coſt the Chriſtians at leaſt as many men, and particularly thoſe of the weſt.

To make the misfortune ſtill greater, the wounded ſoldiers of the Germans, whoſe language was not underſtood, laboured under great difficulties, not being able, in ſo melancholy a ſituation, to make either their ails or their wants known. Some German gentlemen of the towns of Bremen and Lubeck, that arrived by ſea, moved with the miſery of their countrymen, took the ſails of their ſhip, and made a large tent in which they put immediately the wounded of their acquaintance, and attended them with great charity. [b] Forty perſons of Quality of the ſame nation joined themſelves to them, and formed a ſort of hoſpital in the camp. This noble and charitable ſociety, like the knights of St. Johnand the templars, became inſenſibly a new hoſpital and military order.

POPE Celeſtine III. at the requeſt of the emperor Henry VI. confirmed it afterwards in an authentick manner

[a] Hoſpitales milites ab equis deſcendunt,
Ut urſa pro filiis, cum Turcis contendunt,
Turci noſtrum aggerem per vim bis conſcendunt,
Hos ſagittis fauciant, hos igne ſuccendunt,
Et hoſpitalarii equos aſcenderunt,
Et Turcos a latere maris invaſerunt,
Quos ad urbis mœnia per vim reduxerunt,
Et ex his in foveis multos occiderunt.
Monachi Florentini, Iconenſis epiſcopi, de recuperata Ptolimaide.

[b] Petri de Dusburg, ſacerdotis ordinis Teutonici, Chronic. Pruſſiæ. p. 13.

manner by his bull of February 23d, 1192. He preſcribed theſe new knights for their rule, that of St. Auguſtine, and for their particular ſtatutes, he appointed them thoſe of the hoſpitallers of St. John, in what regarded the ſervice of the poor and ſick, and the ſtatutes of the templars, in what related to military diſcipline. This new order, which was confined entirely to the German nation, was called the order of the teutonick knights of the houſe of St. Mary of Jeruſalem.

THIS name was given them, becauſe in the time that Jeruſalem was in the hands of the Latin Chriſtians, a German had, at his own expence, built an hoſpital and an oratory, dedicated to the holy virgin, for the ſick of that nation. The habit of theſe new knights was a white mantle, charged with a black croſs. They were obliged to the ſame three ſolemn vows with the hoſpitallers of St. John and the templars. Before they took the habit, they were to ſwear, that they were Germans of noble birth and extraction, and bind themſelves for their whole life to the ſervice of the poor and ſick, and the defence of the holy places.

THIS laſt part of their inſtitution was common to all the three military orders, who were always the generous defenders of the Holy Land. Cardinal de Vitri, a contemporary hiſtorian, and even an eye-witneſs, ſpeaking of the founding of theſe three orders, and applying to them what is ſaid in the book of Eccleſiaſtes, that a threefold cord is not quickly broken, adds to the teſtimony he had given in behalf of the two firſt orders, that it pleaſed divine providence to raiſe up a third, which was not leſs ſerviceable to the preſervation of the Holy Land. In fact, it may be ſaid, that theſe three bodies were the principal ſtrength of the army, as well for going out on detatchments, as in repelling the ſallies of the garriſon: but as they were not duly ſeconded by thoſe of the cruſade, who were divided among themſelves, and as there were no chiefs with full command in the army,

army, nor any regular diſcipline obſerved, the ſiege advanced but ſlowly, and was even ſuſpended in a manner by the differences that aroſe between Guy de Luſignan and young Conrad, in which the lords of the cruſade embarked, every one according to his intereſt or inclination.

IT was near two years that the ſiege of Acre had gone heavily on, and been ſpun out to a tedious length, when Philip II. king of France, who had been detained till then at Meſſina, by ſome new diſputes with the king of England, who would not marry his ſiſter as he had engaged to do, parted abruptly from thence, and appeared at laſt off St. John d'Acre, with a numerous fleet. This new reinforcement, and the preſence of the prince who commanded it, put new life, as we may ſay, into the whole army, compoſed as it was of different nations, whom their manners, language and intereſts, had divided. The ſiege now was carried on in another manner; the ſoldiers, as well as the officers, ſought to ſignalize themſelves before the eyes of ſo great a king. That prince ordered engines to be made, which demoliſhed a pannel of the wall, and made a large breach: the whole army cried out with eagerneſs to be led to the aſſault. Philip, who every day expected the king of England, with whom he had taken the croſs, would needs defer an enterprize, the ſucceſs and glory of which were certain, in order to ſhare them with his ally. But theſe conſiderations, generous to exceſs, made the Chriſtian army relapſe into a ſtate of inactivity; and the infidels making their uſe of it raiſed new fortifications within the place, which was in a poſture of defence, at the king of England's arrival.

THAT prince was Richard I. who had lately ſucceeded his father, king Henry II. Queen Eleanor his mother had brought to him as far as Meſſina, Berengara infanta of Navarre, whom he was to marry. This princeſs and Jean of England, the king's ſiſter, and widow of William II. king of Sicily, having expreſſed their deſire of making the voyage of the eaſt, Richard

divided

divided his fleet into two ſquadrons, and put the two princeſſes on board that which led the van. Both the ſquadrons met with a violent ſtorm in the Archipelago. The king of England made the iſle of Rhodes, and the ſquadron of the two princeſſes came to an anchor on Good Friday, in ſight of Limiſſo in Cyprus; ſeveral veſſels that ran aground near that place were beat in pieces by the tempeſt. The ſovereign, or rather the tyrant of the iſland, was by his mother's ſide of the imperial houſe of the Comneni: the emperor Emanuel had made him governor of the iſland of Cyprus; but this governour revolted, aſſumed the title of emperor, and, under the weak reign of Iſaac Angelus, continued abſolute maſter of the iſle. He was by accident upon the coaſt when the princeſſes ſquadron appeared off it. That prince, perfidious and cruel in his nature, ordered the Engliſh ſhips that had run aground to be pillaged, and the ſoldiers and ſeamen that fell into his hands, to be laid in irons. He was even inhumane enough to refuſe letting the ſhip in which the two princeſſes were on board, come into his ports daring the ſtorm. But the fair weather that followed, allowing the two Engliſh ſquadrons to join, Richard being refuſed the ſatisfaction he demanded for ſo barbarous a proceeding, forced his way on ſhore, ſeized on Limiſſo, cut in pieces the Greek prince's troops, purſued him without reſting from place to place, took him priſoner at laſt, with the princeſs of Cyprus, his only daughter, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, reaping as much ſatisfaction from the vengeance he took on the outrage offered the two princeſſes as from the conqueſt of a kingdom. Richard, after ſo glorious an expedition, which had coſt him leſs time than a mere journey of pleaſure, and before he left Cyprus, eſpouſed the princeſs of Navarre. He ſet ſail afterwards with his priſoner, whom he carried after him in irons, as a trophy of his victory: the miſerable prince deſired to be treated with more moderation, and put him in mind of his birth and dignity. The king of England,

who

who despised him, ordered, with a smile, that he should be put in chains of silver; and the Greek prince, who was as vain as he was cowardly, thought himself much relieved, and fancied them to be less weighty, because they were different from those of the other prisoners. Richard arrived at the Christian camp, put him into the hands of the knights of St. John, who sent him to be kept in their fortress of Margat; and the two princesses, at the king of England's instance, kept the princess of Cyprus with them, who was suspected of having in her turn put chains of another nature on her conqueror.

As the isle of Cyprus was too remote from England to be annexed to that monarchy, Richard sold it to the templars, for the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Those military friars took possession of it, and, to secure their authority, threw a considerable body of their troops into it. But the harshness of their government, and the haughty ways of these templars, alienated the minds of their new subjects. Besides, the Cypriots, who followed the Greek rites, could not bring themselves to obey those Latin monks. This was the source, or at least the pretext of well nigh continual war between the great men of that kingdom and the templars, who were obliged at last to abandon the island, and deliver it back to the king of England, as we shall observe hereafter.

THAT prince arrived at the Christian camp on June 8th, A. D. 1191. I shall not enter into the detail of all that passed in this famous siege. The two kings distinguished themselves in it by an extraordinary valour; Richard especially, by a daring resolution, which carried him always into places of the greatest dangers, from whence he ever came off victorious. But there was a certain fierceness in his manner, that made him less agreeable. Saladine was noways behind him in point of courage; he had all the bravery and intrepidity of the soldier, with all the skill of the officer, and was every day making new enterprizes against

gainſt the Chriſtians. The knights of the three orders exerted themſelves in all places; the templars, on one of theſe occaſions, loſt their grand maſter, and the hoſpitallers of St. John, many of their knights; and the order would have been ſoon cut off in theſe continual combats, if the cruſades, which from time to time arrived from Europe, had not ſupplied it with new recruits. A great number of young gentlemen, charmed with the extraordinary valour of the hoſpitallers, took the croſs, at their arrival from the weſt, preferring at the ſame time the croſs of the hoſpitallers before that of the templars, who ſeemed more proud and haughty than was ſuitable to the character of a religious ſociety. All the world was for fighting under the banner of St. John; and thoſe who did ſo, were as ſo many pupils and candidates, out of whom ſuch were afterwards choſen for the religious profeſſion, as gave the beſt proofs of their being ſincerely called to it, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their piety as their valour; two qualities, which it were to be wiſhed the order would have as much regard to in the admiſſion of knights at this time, as they have to the nobleneſs of their extraction.

WE have obſerved, that the infidels, making their advantage of the leiſure the king of France had allowed them, out of a compliment to his ally of England, had fortified the place anew, ſo that it was no longer liable to be carried by ſtorm. They were forced to begin their attacks again, which coſt them abundance of men: a dyſentery too, which raged among the weſtern troops, occaſioned by their exceſſive eating of fruit, carried off a great number of ſoldiers.

THE jealouſy between the French and the Engliſh began to break out; and, to make the misfortune ſtill worſe, the old diviſions between Guy de Luſignan and Conrad of Montferrat were revived. The king of France declared for the latter; the king of England for Luſignan; the princes and nobility, after their example, divided into parties; and as there was always a ſecret emulation ſubſiſting between the two military orders,

orders, the hoſpitallers declaring themſelves in favour of the king of Jeruſalem, was a ſufficient reaſon to engage the templars to quit his party, and embrace that of the prince of Tyre.

So general a miſunderſtanding making them leſs concerned about the ſucceſs of the ſiege, the biſhops that were in the camp omitted nothing to conciliate theſe fatal diviſions. Several conferences were held on this ſubject; at laſt it was agreed, that Luſignan ſhould keep the title of king of Jeruſalem during his life, but that the prince of Tyre ſhould be acknowledged in right of his wife indefeaſible heir of the crown. The two pretenders conſented to theſe conditions; but Conrad reaped no advantage from this agreement. That prince having refuſed to do the ſeignior of the mountain juſtice, in relation to a ſhip that the Tyrians had taken from him, was afterwards ſtabbed by two aſſaſſins, who, in the midſt of the moſt horrible tortures, and whilſt they flayed them alive, gloried in their having executed the barbarous orders of their cruel maſter.

PEACE being thus reſtored in the army, they reſumed the care of the ſiege with new vigour. The attacks were in a manner continual, and the two kings, out of a noble emulation, puſhed the work ſo briskly on their reſpective ſides, that there was ſoon a ſufficient breach to mount and give the aſſault. The infidels, after an incredible reſiſtance, ſeeing the outworks of the place taken, their towers ruined, a conſiderable breach made, and the braveſt knights of the Chriſtian army ready to mount it, demanded a capitulation. Hoſtages were given on both ſides; the town was ſurrendered, the garriſon, conſiſting of five thouſand men, with the governor, yielded themſelves priſoners, on condition of being releaſed upon their cauſing the true croſs, and the Chriſtian ſlaves that were in Saladine's hands to be reſtored, or otherways, of being left to the diſcretion of the conquer-
1191. or. The Chriſtians took poſſeſſion of Acre on July 13th, and made it afterwards their place of arms.

arms. They aſſigned different quarters for the ſeveral bodies and nations that had contributed to reduce it, and were able to defend and maintain it: the hoſpitallers of St. John transferred thither their principal reſidence, which, ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, had been ſettled at Margat. 'TWAS in Acre that their grand maſter Ermengard, in the year following, ended an illuſtrious life, which he had expoſed ſo often againſt the infidels, and in defence of the Chriſtians. 1192.

THE hoſpitallers, in a full chapter, choſe brother Godfrey de Duiſſon, an old knight, for his ſucceſſor. It was none of this new grand maſter's fault, that the taking of Acre was not followed with the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, the main deſign of the cruſade; but jealouſy of ſtate, diverſity of intereſts, emulation and animoſity, raiſed ſuch diviſions among theſe different nations, that all the effect of this mighty armament was the taking of a ſingle place. The cruſade being compoſed chiefly of volunteers, they quitted the army, and filed off by degrees, after a ſiege that had laſted near three years. Philip king of France was obliged to leave Paleſtine, and change the air, as the only remedy to recover him out of a violent diſtemper, which was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, and made his hair and nails fall off. But at his going away, he left in the Chriſtian army, a body of five hundred men of arms, and ten thouſand foot, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. The principal chiefs of different nations were going off from time to time, abandoning the Holy Land for a prey to the infidels. Richard king of England, before his departure, took Jaffa and Aſcalon, and made afterwards a truce with the Barbarians for three years, three months, and three weeks; and, if we may believe the hiſtorians of that age, they added, for greater exactneſs, three days and three hours. It is ſaid, that Richard, before his departure, cauſed Guy de Luſignan to marry the princeſs of Cyprus, and made GODFREY DE DUISSON. 1192.

over to him the ſovereignty of that iſle, which the templars had reſigned back to him, and which the princes of the houſe of Luſignan poſſeſſed afterwards for near three hundred years. Henry count of Champagne, nephew to the king of England, and entirely attached to his intereſts, married at the ſame time Iſabella, widow of Conrad, and by that marriage obtained a right to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which he was in hopes to clear of the Sarazens.

THESE hopes were raiſed ſtill higher by the death of Saladine, which happened at Damaſcus, on March 13th 1193. That infidel prince, one of the greateſt captains of his age, thought, upon the retreat of the Chriſtians, to enjoy the fruit of his victories in triumph; but death ſtripped him of all at once. When he felt himſelf near his end, he ordered the officer that carried his ſtandard in battle to put in its ſtead a piece of cloth deſigned for his winding ſheet, and carrying it through the ſtreets, to cry aloud, "See here all that "the great Saladine, conqueror of the eaſt, carries off "with him, of all his conqueſts and treaſures." They ſay, that before he expired, he diſtributed conſiderable ſums to all the poor of Damaſcus, without diſtinction of Mahometan, Jew or Chriſtian, whether he was perſuaded, that charity, or at leaſt bare humanity, ſhould be extended indifferently to all that are in miſery; or elſe perhaps, though he had profeſſed Mahometaniſm all his life, yet he might, in his laſt moments, be in doubt which of the three religions was the beſt and true one. At the ſame time, he divided his dominions between his eleven ſons, who, after his death, thought of nothing but ruining one another. But Safadine, the brother of Saladine, and companion of his victories, made his advantage of theſe diviſions, attacked his nephews, one after another, made away all of them that fell into his hands, and raiſed at laſt an empire to himſelf, very little inferior to that of Saladine's. Theſe diviſions, and other civil wars that broke out afterwards between the children of Saladine, gave the Latin Chriſtians time to breathe.

POPE

POPE Celeſtine III. to ſupply them with ſuccours, publiſhed a new cruſade, contrary to the truce concluded by the king of England, which was ſtill ſubſiſting; and it is even ſaid, that they received an expreſs order from the pope, not to pay any regard to it. A great number of German barons put on the croſs, came to Meſſina, and from thence paſſed into the Holy Land. Waleran, brother to the duke of Limburgh, having broke the truce by ſome hoſtilities, Safadine, provoked at this infraction, laid ſiege to Jaffa, carried it by ſtorm, and put above twenty thouſand Chriſtians to the ſword. The Chriſtians in Paleſtine ſeemed to be on the brink of ruin, if a civil war between the infidels had not afterwards obliged Safadine to renew the truce for ſix years. The count of Campagne, after this treaty, returned to Acre, where looking out of a window upon the troops as they paſſed in review, the bar that he leaned on failing, he fell into the caſtle ditch, and was killed.

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, conſidering that ſo ſmall a ſtate as the kingdom of Jeruſalem, encompaſſed as it was with formidable enemies, could never ſupport itſelf without a king, propoſed, ſome time after that prince's death, to the queen his widow, to marry Amaury de Luſignan, who had juſt before, upon the death of Guy his brother, ſucceeded to the crown of Cyprus. He repreſented to her, that her ſtate being ſurrounded with powerful enemies, ſhe might draw conſiderable ſuccours from that iſle in the the neighbourhood of Paleſtine, and beſides, Cyprus might ſerve her for an honourable retreat, if by misfortune the infidels ſhould compleat the conqueſt of her own territories. The queen readily approved a propoſition, in which ſhe found at the ſame time her own intereſt and that of the ſtate. The grand maſter undertook the negotiation, and managed it with ſuch conduct, that, without expoſing the queen, he brought the king of Cyprus to court her alliance. Nothing more was wanting to put the finiſhing hand to this great af-

fair but his preſence. He was by no means at a loſs for pretences to go to Acre; he ſaw the queen; was well received by her; and after they had, for form ſake, communicated their deſign to the grandees of the ſtate, they were married by the patriarch, and afterwards ſolemnly proclaimed king and queen of Jeruſalem and Cyprus.

HUMPHREY de Thoron, this princeſs's firſt huſband, could not, without uneaſineſs, ſee her diſpoſe ſucceſſively of her perſon and crown to ſo many princes, who perhaps had leſs right to them than he. But as right, without power to ſupport it, is little regarded in the caſe of ſovereigns, this unfortunate lord found no body concerned at his misfortune: he was forced, for his own ſafety, to ſay nothing of his pretenſions, and, like a divinity without a temple, he remained without any worſhip or adorers.

THE grand maſter, who had acted ſo great a part in the queen's laſt marriage, did not long ſurvive the rejoicings which attended that ceremony; he 1194. died almoſt at the ſame time; and we have ſcarce any account left us of his government. The ignorance, in which people of quality were brought up at that time, has deprived us of the knowledge of a great number of facts, that might have embelliſhed this hiſtory; but in thoſe firſt ages of the order, the knights made much more uſe of their ſword than their pen; I can't ſay indeed whether moſt of them could read. This at leaſt is certain, that either for want of capacity or out of modeſty, we have not one knight for above four hundred years, that has vouchafed to give us an account of ſo many remarkable events, as are with difficulty traced out in national hiſtories, and collections of treaties and public inſtruments.

The end of the SECOND BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK III.

IT is hard to ſay, whether it be the great diſtance of the times, or the negligence of the firſt hiſtorians, that we are to charge with our ignorance of the houſe and extraction of the firſt grand maſters, and particularly of the ſucceſſor of Duiſſon. This ſucceſſor, in the ancient chronicles, is called brother Alphonſus of Portugal. The common oppinion is, that he was deſcended from the princes of that nation; but they do not tell us what branch he came of; only they agree, that it was of an illegitimate line. Some modern authors pretend, that his name was Peter, and that he was ſon to Alphonſus I. king of Portugal. However this be, all writ-

ALPHONSUS OF PORTUGAL. 1194.

ers that have mentioned him, repreſent him as a perſon of diſtinguiſhed valour and piety, equally exact in the regular and military diſcipline, a ſcrupulous obſerver of the ſtatutes, but naturally proud and haughty; and it ſoon appeared, after his promotion to the grand maſterſhip, that the orders he gave in relation to the government of the ſociety, had a tincture of his own rough diſpoſition.

SCARCE was he acknowledged as grand maſter, when having his mind filled with notions of a perfection hardly practicable among warriors, and out of a view of reforming the abuſes that had crept into it, he called a general chapter in the town of Margat, whither the order had, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, transferred its reſidence. To cover his main deſign the better, he ſet himſelf at firſt only to rectify a certain abuſe which often confounded the ſecular gentry with the profeſſed knights. Thoſe gentlemen, upon their return into the weſt, and in their provinces, affected to wear the croſs of St. John of Jeruſalem. To underſtand rightly this particular fact, it muſt be obſerved, that ſuch gentlemen as engaged themſelves in the cruſades or in pilgrimages, when they arrived in Paleſtine, ſerved as volunteers under the banner of the order. There were ſome likeways that ſent their children young into Paleſtine, to be bred up in the houſe of St. John, under the diſcipline of the knights, as the beſt ſchool to form them in the art of war.

BOTH the one and the other, as long as they ſtaid in the Holy Land, and fought under the ſtandard of the order, were allowed to wear the croſs; but they, abuſing this indulgence, on their return into Europe, ſo as to found a claim of right upon it, the grand maſter, to prevent their being confounded with the profeſſed knights, procured a ſtatute to be paſſed in the chapter, that they ſhould be conſidered only as auxiliary troops, and not be allowed to wear the croſs, but only when they were fighting againſt the infidels under the banner of the order.

FROM

FROM this particular article of reformation, the grand maſter proceeded to others that concerned chiefly the knights profeſſed; and to get them received the more eaſily, he began with his own houſe and equipage, which he reduced to a major-domo, a chaplain, two knights, three eſquires, a turcopolier and a page. To each of the ſeveral officers of his houſhold, he left only one horſe to carry them. With regard to his perſon, he reſerved only two led horſes and a mule, an equipage indeed exceeding modeſt, but not very ſuitable to the governor of a great military order, who was every day at the head of an army.

FROM this particular regulation he aſſumed a right of reforming all the knights in general; after upbraiding them with what he called their luxury and effeminacy, he propoſed ſeveral regulations; their diet, habit and equipages, all paſſed under a ſevere examination, and a rigid reform. It can't be denied, but the grand maſter's intentions were very good; his deſign was to revive the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Raimond Dupuy, which had been much relaxed ſince that time. It is reported, that hearing ſome mutterings in the aſſembly, he asked them, if they were more nice than their predeceſſors, and if they had not made the ſame vows in the moſt ſolemn manner before the altar? In vain did they repreſent to him the difference of the times, and that the way of life which he propoſed was incompatible with the duties of a continual war, and with the obligation they were under, ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, of being every day either on horſeback or in the trenches. This only ſerved to make him raiſe his voice, and tell them, with a tone and air of arbitrary command, I will be obeyed, and I'll hear no reply. The whole aſſembly at theſe words broke out into loud complaints, and an old knight told him the chapter was not uſed to hear their ſuperiors ſpeak as ſovereigns.

PASSION and animoſity ſoon entered into theſe warm diſputes, which were carried on ſo far, that the knights by concert, with an obſtinacy not to be juſtified,

fied, refuſed to obſerve the regulations he propoſed. The grand maſter on his ſide, though only deſcended from a royal houſe by a by-blow, yet to prove as it were his legitimacy, affected all the ſtate and haughtineſs of the throne. Neither ſide caring to make any abatement, it came at laſt to an open revolt. The order fell into a ſort of anarchy; and the grand maſter, finding he was to expect no more obedience from his knights, abdicated his dignity, and retired to Portugal. He was yet more unhappy there, and died at laſt in the civil wars that he engaged in. This we learn from ſeveral hiſtorians, though they are not agreed, either as to his own name, or that of the prince from whom he derived his being.

GEOFFROY LE RAT.

THE order, after his abdication, choſe for his ſucceſſor brother Geoffory le Rat, of the language of France, a venerable old man, good natured, courteous, and no way forward; qualities which recommended him to the ſuffrages of his brother knights. There happened almoſt at the ſame time a new revolution, in the principality of the leſſer Armenia, the conſequences of which he prevented by his good conduct and management. We have obſerved, that two brothers, the moſt conſiderable of the nobility of that nation, the one called Rupin of the mountain, and the younger Livron or Leon, had, after the death of the renegado Melier, ſeized that little kingdom. Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and now count of Tripoli, puſhed on by a boundleſs ambition, and in hopes of enlarging his own dominions at the expence of his neighbours, had prevailed with the prince of Armenia to come to Antioch, under pretence of a conference, and to enter into meaſures with him againſt the infidels, their common enemies, and had cauſed him to be arreſted there. Livron ſome time after turned his own artifice againſt him; and, under pretence of treating for his brother's liberty, came to the rendezvous better attended than Bohemund, cut his retinue and convoy in pieces, took and carried him to a ſtrong

a ſtrong place, where he kept him priſoner, and would not at firſt hearken to any negotiation of peace.

EACH nation took arms in favour of their prince. The infidels, their neighbours, would not have failed making their advantage of a war ſo prejudicial to the Chriſtians; but the patriarch and grand maſter, who ſaw the fatal conſequences of this difference, interpoſed to make it up. Livron would not at firſt hearken to any propoſal, either becauſe governing the kingdom during his brother's captivity, he did not care to part with the ſovereign authority, or perhaps, as the event ſhewed, becauſe he deſigned to draw greater advantages from the treaty. However it was, he would not conſent to the exchanging of the two priſoners, but upon condition that the principality of Antioch ſhould for the future hold of that of Armenia, and that, as the pledge of a ſincere reconciliation between the two houſes, the eldeſt ſon of the prince of Antioch ſhould, before his father was ſet at liberty, marry Alice, the only daughter of Rupin, and that the iſſue of that marriage ſhould be declared, after their father, preſumptive heirs of the principality of Antioch, but without any pretenſions to that of Armenia, till after the death of Livron himſelf. Hard as theſe conditions were, Bohemund, impatient of recovering his liberty, ratified them all, and, after a conſummation of the marriage, the two captive princes were releaſed. He of Antioch returning into his own territories, to make proviſion for prince Raimond his ſecond ſon, gave him the county of Tripoli; and after the death of his eldeſt, in prejudice of the children which that young prince had left of his marriage with the princeſs of Armenia, he reſolved likeways to have him acknowledged for his ſucceſſor in the principality, which occaſioned great diſputes, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

IN virtue of the truce which was ſtill ſubſiſting with Safadine, and the other ſucceſſors of Saladine; the Chriſtians of Paleſtine, and the two military orders, which were all the defence they had, enjoyed a little reſt:

reſt: both of them owed this tranſient quiet to a dreadful famine which then afflicted Egypt. That
1196. great kingdom, as is well known, owes all its fertility to the regular inundations of the Nile, which, ſpreading its waters over the ſurface of the earth, leaves behind it a ſlime mixt with nitre, that fattens the ground, and produces plenty in all the provinces through which it flows. This inundation had failed the former year, as we learn from a letter of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers to the prior of England of the ſame order. We ſee there, that the miſerable Egyptians were reduced to the extremity of browzing like beaſts on graſs, that fathers were not aſhamed to ſell their children for a livelihood, and that all Egypt was like a large charnel-houſe, but with this difference, that the dead lay there expoſed without burial, and ſerved for food to ravenous animals.

PALESTINE, adjoining to Egypt, and ſupplied from thence with moſt of its corn, ſuffered by this general famine; 'tis the ſubject of the grand maſter's letter to the prior of England. He adds, that the Italian war, occaſioned by the rebellion of the towns of Lombardy againſt the emperor, was another ſcourge that afflicted the order; and the grand priory of Barletto in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, from whence the order and convent uſed to receive conſiderable ſupplies, particularly in corn, furniſhed them almoſt nothing, by reaſon of the wars between the popes and emperors. "We are forced, adds the grand maſter, "to buy every thing at an exorbitant price, as well "for the ſubſiſtence of our knights, as for the troops "which are in the pay of the order, which has obliged us to contract conſiderable debts, greater than "we can pay, without the ſupply we expect from "our brethren of the weſt." He concludes with exhorting them to ſolicit the king of England to ſend troops into the eaſt, while the Egyptians were ſtill labouring under the miſeries of that calamitous ſtate to which they were reduced, and at ſo favourable a juncture as the concluſion of the truce, now juſt ready to expire,

expire, when they might hope, if an army ſhould arrive from Europe, to make a ſecond conqueſt o. the Holy Land, and re-enter glorioufly into Jeruſalem.

I DO not pretend to determine, whether the expence the order of St. John was at in maintaining conſtantly a ſtanding body of troops, or a ſpirit of intereſt, which is but too ordinary in communities, induced the grand maſter to deliver himſelf in this language: but certain it is, that James de Vitri, then biſhop of Acre, and afterwards cardinal, a contemporary hiſtorian, that lived himſelf upon the ſpot, affirms [a], that in his time the hoſpitallers and templars were as powerful as ſovereign princes; that they poſſeſſed principalities, cities, towns and villages, both in Aſia and Europe, and that in provinces which lay at a diſtance from Paleſtine, and the head ſeat of the order, they had their procurators, knights who were ſtyled præceptors, and were very diligent in improving their eſtates, the revenue of which they remitted afterwards to the treaſury of each order.

IF we may believe Matthew Paris, another contemporary hiſtorian, the hoſpitallers were at that time in poſſeſſion, within the bounds of Chriſtendom, of no leſs than nineteen thouſand manors [b], a term which the gloſſaries explain differently, with regard to the different countries wherein they are ſituated; but, generally ſpeaking, by the term manor or manſe, is meant as much land as a plough with two oxen can till

[a] Amplis autem poſſeſſionibus tam citra mare quàm ultra ditati ſunt in immenſum, villas, civitates, et oppida exemplo fratrum hoſpitalii Sancti Joannis poſſidentes, ex quibus certam pecuniæ ſummam pro defenſione Terræ Sanctæ, ſummo eorum magiſtro, cujus ſedes principalis erat in Jeruſalem, mittunt annuatim: pari modo ſummo et principali magiſtro hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis, procuratores demorum, quos præceptores nominant, certam pecuniæ ſummam ſingulis annis tranſmittunt. Jac. de Vitriaco hiſt. Heir. p. 1084.

[b] Habent inſuper templarii in chriſtianitate novem millia maneriorum; hoſpitalarii vero novem decem, præter emolumenta et varios proventus, ex fraternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes, et per privilegia ſua accreſcentes. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1244 in Henr. III. l. 2. p. 615.

till in a day. And the ſame Engliſh hiſtorian informs us, that at ſame time only nine thouſand manors belonged to the templars; hence aroſe that ſecret jealouſy between the two orders, which flamed out afterwards, and put them on every ſlight pretence upon taking arms, and making open war upon one another.

THERE was at that time in Paleſtine a gentleman, named Robert de Margat, who, as a vaſſal of the hoſpitallers, was in quiet poſſeſſion of a caſtle ſeated near that of Margat, and holding of it. The templars, under colour of ſome old pretenſions, ſurprized the place, and made themſelves maſters of it by open force. This gentleman, thus driven out of his home with all his family, complained to the hoſpitallers his lords, who, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, reſided, as we have already obſerved, at Margat. Theſe knights, tranſported with courage, and miſled by a falſe nicety of honour, ſally out immediately with a body of troops, clap ladders to the caſtle, ſcale the wall ſword in hand, carry the place, and drive out the templars in their turn. This private affair ſoon turned to a general quarrel between the two orders, and the hoſpitallers were never met afterwards without being attacked. Their friends too intereſted themſelves in the quarrel, and moſt of the Latins were divided. A civil war was kindling inſenſibly in a ſtate where there was no ſovereign of authority ſufficient to repreſs the enterprizes of two parties ſo powerful and ſo exaſperated. The patriarch and the Latin biſhops were the only perſons that interpoſed to put an end to diſſenſions, of which the infidels would not fail to make their advantage. Out of regard to them, the two orders agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and referred, as moſt Chriſtians princes did at that time, the deciſion of their differences to the pope.

CARDINAL Lothair, of the houſe of the counts of Segni, ſcarce thirty ſeven years of age, had juſt
1198. ſucceeded pope Celeſtine III. in the chair of St. Peter. He was a prelate of irreproachable life and converſation, learned for the time he lived in, a great

great lawier, but unluckily too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of the falſe decretals, which he made the rule of his conduct, though all of them ſpurious writings, aſcribed to the popes of the three firſt centuries, and forged in the middle of the ninth by a notorious falſifier called Iſidore, who, by publiſhing theſe ſuppoſitious acts, gave a terrible blow to the ancient diſcipline of the church, particularly in the point of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and the rights of biſhops. And though theſe falſe decretals are now a-days as much cried down as they deſerve to be, and the moſt zealous partiſans of the court of Rome are forced to give them up; yet all that they do, is to diſparage the author, without troubling themſelves to repair the miſchief that he did in ſome ages of ignorance. Innocent was very well qualified to remedy this diſorder, had he been but maſter of as much critical learning and penetration, as he had zeal and paſſion for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

'TWAS before this ſovereign pontiff that the affair of the two military orders was brought. The hoſpitallers on that occaſion deputed to Rome brother d'Iſigni prior of Barletto, and brother Auger præceptor of another houſe in Italy. The templars ſent thither on their part brother Peter de Villeplane, and brother Thierry. Innocent having examined into the pretenſions of both ſides, ordered, by a preliminary ſentence, before he would pronounce upon the merits of the cauſe, that the hoſpitallers ſhould deliver back to the templars the caſtle they had taken from them; and that after the templars had reſided there quietly for the ſpace of a month, the gentleman who was the former proprietor of the caſtle ſhould have liberty to cite them before the judges at Margat, to produce their title, and the evidence of their claim; but that the hoſpitallers, to avoid all ſuſpicion of partiality in their own magiſtrates and judges, ſhould on this occaſion have recourſe to thoſe of the principality of Antioch, or the county of Tripoli; that the order of St. John ſhould make choice of perſons of integrity; that

this choice notwithſtanding, the templars ſhould be allowed to except againſt, and challenge any of theſe foreign magiſtrates that they ſuſpected; but withal, if they refuſed to ſubmit to the verdict which ſhould be afterwards brought in, the hoſpitallers ſhould be impowered to put their vaſſal again in poſſeſſion of his caſtle.

WE have a letter of this pope to the grand maſter and the whole order of the hoſpitallers, wherein he repreſents to them, with much force and perſuaſiveneſs, how unſuitable their proceeding and that of the templars was to the character of religious, if, ſays Innocent, we may give the name of religious to men, who are for deciding their rights by force and methods of violence. He adds, that though he knew well enough in the main, what party had right and juſtice on its ſide, yet he had choſen rather to make up the affair by an amicable compoſition, which the deputies of the two orders had agreed to in his preſence, than to pronounce a rigorous judgment, which would have fixed a ſtur upon the party which had done the wrong. He goes on exhorting them both to maintain unity and peace with one another, and at the ſame time enjoins them, in virtue of their holy obedience, and on pain of excomunication, to determine the differences that ſhould ſtart up between them, in the manner directed by the rules which pope Alexander III. preſcribed them. Innocent concludes his letter with threatening ſuch as ſhould prove refractory with all the weight of his indigdation.

SOME foreign judges, according to his direction, took cogniſance of this affair; the pretenſions of the templars were declared groundleſs; the gentleman, who was vaſſal to the hoſpitallers, was again, put into poſſeſſion of his caſtle; peace and quietneſs were reſtored between the two orders, at leaſt in appearance, and the pope, ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, wrote afterwards to both, recommending to them the intereſts of the king of Cyprus.

WE

We have already taken notice, that after the death of Guy de Luſignan, prince Amaury his brother inherited his crown; and that this prince having afterwards married Iſabel queen of Jeruſalem, ſhe had prevailed with him to fix his reſidence in Paleſtine, in a ſtate ſurrounded on all ſides by the infidels. But Amaury having advice, that the iſle of Cyprus was ſcarce in a quieter condition; that the inhabitants being of the Greek church could not bring themſelves to obey a Latin prince, and that the emperor was tampering with them underhand by his emiſſaries, to gain them over to a re-union with the Greek empire; this king of Cyprus wrote to the pope, to lay before him the neceſſity he was under of returning immediately into his iſland, to ſecure his authority there.

INNOCENT was afraid, leſt upon this prince's retreat, the hoſpitallers and templars, ſeeing no longer any body above them in dignity, ſhould 1198. both pretend to the government of the ſtate; to prevent therefore a competition, that muſt neceſſarily have very terrible conſequences, he conjured the king, in the moſt preſſing terms, not to abandon what was ſtill left of the inheritance of Jeſus Chriſt for a prey to the infidels and barbarians. But at the ſame time to, obviate the diſturbances that might be raiſed in the iſle of Cyprus in his abſence, the pope wrote to the prince of Antioch, to the count of Tripoli his ſon, and to the grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, recommending to them, to take care of the king's concerns, and, if neceſſity ſo required, to ſend into the iſland a body of forces, ſufficient to maintain the royal authority there. "Amaury, ſays the pontiff in his "letters, having been pleaſed to leave his own domi-"nions, and the delicious abode of the iſle of Cyprus, "to dedicate himſelf to the defence of the Holy Land, "it is but juſt, that the Chriſtian princes, his neigh-"bours, ſhould intereſt themſelves in the preſervation "of his crown."

Hiſtory gives us no account of what theſe princes did upon this occaſion; nor does it appear, that the

templars, who were odious to the Cypriots, and had been forced to give up the ſovereign authority they had over them, ſent any ſuccours into the iſland. But we learn, from the ancient memoirs of the hoſpitallers, that the king, in concert with the grand maſter, choſe out of them ſome knights, whom he intruſted with the government of that kingdom, and who paſſed over thither with a body of troops, capable of preventing and cruſhing the ill deſigns of the male-contents.

THERE happened ſhortly after, a ſurprizing revolution in the empire, and at Conſtantinople, which drew likeways a great number of hoſpitallers to that capital. For the better underſtanding ſo extraordinary an event, it muſt be obſerved, that the ſpirit of cruſading, notwithſtanding ſuch a ſeries of ill ſucceſs as we have mentioned, ſtill reigned in France. By the perſuaſion and moving diſcourſes of the miniſter of Neuilli, an infinite number of princes, lords and gentlemen, put on the croſs under the command of the marqueſs of Montferrat, an excellent general, and brother to the prince of the ſame name, who made that noble defence againſt Saladine at the ſiege of Tyre. The difficulty was, how to get this new army of the cruſade into the Levant.

EXPERIENCE had ſhewn, that the way by land through the territories of the Greek and Mahometan princes, was equally difficult and dangerous. To avoid this inconvenience, the principal lords of the cruſade ſent deputies to Henry Dandalo, duke or doge of Venice, propoſing to him, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be agreed on, and paid before hand, to furniſh ſhips for tranſporting their army to St. John d'Acre. They entered into a negotiation upon this ſubject, and agreed at laſt, by a ſolemn treaty, that in conſideration of eighty five thouſand merks of ſilver, the republick ſhould be obliged to tranſport four thouſand knights or eſquires, and twenty thouſand foot into Syria, with their arms, and all neceſſary proviſions and ammunition. The Venetians acquitted themſelves

of

of all the conditions of this treaty, and furniſhed even a much greater number of veſſels and ſhips than they were obliged to, that they might not look like mere paſſengers in this voyage; and to have ſome ſhare in the merit of the cruſade, they fitted out, at their own expence, fifty galleys, with good land forces on board; and the doge, though fourſcore years old, and decayed in his ſight, was to mount the admiral, and make the voyage as one of the cruſade.

THERE was nothing now that hindered thoſe French princes and noblemen from ſetting ſail but want of money; but it happens frequently, through accidents not to be foreſeen, that it is not ſo eaſy to execute a treaty as to ſign it. A great many of the French, to avoid paying their quota of the contribution agreed on, had, inſtead of going to Venice, embarked at Marſeilles and different ports of Italy; ſo that the princes and noblemen who came at the head of the army to Venice, after ſelling their plate, gold chains and rings, could raiſe only fifty thouſand merks of ſilver; and for want of the thirty five thouſand remaining, the treaty was in danger of breaking off, and this holy deſign of miſcarrying, when the zeal, magnanimity and ability of the doge provided for all difficulties, and brought on the affair again.

WHEN we ſee the conduct of this illuſtrious doge in the relation of Geoffrey de Villehardouin,[a] 'tis hard to determine which ought moſt to be admired, either his profound ſagacity in council, or his courage and capacity in the conduct of an army, or his wonderful ſkill and contrivance in managing the tempers of men. Attentive always to the intereſt of his country, and ſtill more to his own glory, he propoſed, for the advancement of both, and in concert with the great council of the republick, to diſcharge the cruſade of the thirty five thouſand merks remaining, upon condition, that after their imbarkation, and before they left the European ſeas, they would, by the way, aſſiſt him in reducing the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which

[a] Imprimerie Royale. an. 1657.

was part of the old demeſne of the republick, but had ſome time before, out of a turbulent humour, revolted to Bela king of Hungary. Part of the gentlemen of the cruſade, and eſpecially the pope's legates, with ſome prieſts and monks, put ſcruples into the ſoldiery, as if it was unlawful to employ againſt Chriſtians the arms which were deſigned againſt the infidels. But as it was impoſſible to go without the Venetian fleet, as the ſedition and revolt of the inhabitants of Zara was a dangerous precedent, and moreover, as the princes of the cruſade might be uſeful to obtain reaſonable conditions for them, the doge's propoſal was accepted. They ſet ſail, and after a favourable voyage, landed in Dalmatia, and inveſted Zara. The place did not hold out long againſt ſo conſiderable an army; the inhabitants opened their gates to their old maſters; but this diverſion having ſpent the ſeaſon proper for their paſſage into Paleſtine, they were obliged to winter in Dalmatia. 1202. Nov. 10.

UPON the approach of ſpring, the army of the cruſade was preparing to re-imbark, when there arrived embaſſadors from Alexis Comnenus, whoſe ſiſter Irene was married to Philip duke of Suabia, and emperor elect of Germany. The Greek prince ſent theſe deputies to ſolicit the princes, as they had employed their arms in favour of the Venetians, to make the like enterprize for reſtoring his father, the emperor Iſaac Angelus, to the throne of Conſtantinople, another Alexis, brother to that emperor, having deprived him of his crown, and keeping him ſhut up in a dungeon; a new incident that requires a fuller explanation.

We have obſerved in ſeveral places of this work, and it is plain from the original hiſtorians, that the ambition and treachery of moſt of the Greek princes had made the throne of Conſtantinople a ſcene of the moſt bloody tragedies. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, that perfidious prince, who, in concert with the infidels, procured the deſtruction of the emperor Conrad the third's army, dying after a reign of conſiderable length, left the empire to his ſon, a young prince

prince hardly thirteen years old, contracted to Anne or Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII. king of France. But after a reign of three months, if we may give that name to the government of ſo young a prince, who was himſelf governed by prince Andronicus his uncle or couſin, the traiterous Andronicus cauſed him to be ſtrangled, and ſeized the empire.

ISAAC Angelus, of the ſame houſe of the Comneni, but only by the female ſide, under pretence of revenging the young emperor's death, ſurprized the tyrant, got him into his power, and after putting him to death, with the moſt cruel tortures, ſet up himſelf for emperor. He had reigned already near ten years, when his brother Alexis, whom he had ranſomed out of captivity among the infidels, formed a dangerous conſpiracy againſt him, ſeized his perſon, and deprived him at once of his ſight and crown. Young Alexis, Iſaac's ſon, made his eſcape, and, to ſecure himſelf againſt his uncle's cruelty, took refuge at the court of the emperor Philip of Suabia. Philip, buſy in oppoſing Otho of Saxony, his competitor for the empire, was not in a condition to give young Alexis any conſiderable ſuccour: but theſe two princes, hearing with what facility the princes of the cruſade had reduced Zara for the Venetians, flattered themſelves, that it was not impoſſible to engage them, in their behalf, to turn their arms againſt the uſurper. With this view, whilſt the Chriſtian army was ſtill in Dalmatia, young Alexis ſent embaſſadors to implore their aſſiſtance againſt a tyrant and a traitor, who had dethroned his own brother, and kept him loaded with irons, and buried as it were in a dungeon. Theſe motives, of ſuch a nature as could not but move the generoſity of the princes of the cruſade, were ſeconded by offers of conſiderable ſums; and young Alexis promiſed, after the emperor his father's reſtoration, to put on the croſs, and join the Chriſtian army with ten thouſand men. 1195.

THE French and Venetian nobility, of which the army was compoſed, reflecting that the laſt cruſades of Europe had miſcarried only through 1202.

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the perfidiouſneſs of the Greek princes, and that ſo long as they could not be aſſured of Conſtantinople, and of the ſtreight which joins Europe in a manner with Aſia, it would be almoſt impracticable to tranſport the chiefs of the cruſade into Paleſtine, and maintain them there, entered into a negotiation with the embaſſadors. The doge, intruſted with the common intereſts of both nations, managed it with his uſual capacity, and after ſeveral conferences, came to an agreement with the miniſters of the Greek prince, that in caſe the princes of the cruſade * reſtored the emperor Iſaac to his throne, the father and ſon ſhould pay the Latins two hundred thouſand merks of ſilver for the charge of the war; that young Alexis ſhould join their army in perſon, and march with them into the eaſt; or elſe, if the intereſt of the emperor his father detained him at Conſtantinople, they ſhould ſend a reinforcement of ten thouſand men of their beſt troops, with a year's pay advanced; and that in order to ſecure the conqueſts which they hoped to gain either in Egypt or Paleſtine, they ſhould always maintain a ſtanding body of five hundred horſe there at their expence. The princes, out of a religious motive, and to engage the pope, the primum mobile of the cruſades, to allow of this diverſion, inſiſted likeways, that the embaſſadors ſhould oblige themſelves, by this treaty in their maſter's name, in caſe God bleſſed the arms of the cruſade with ſucceſs, to exert their authority, and uſe all their endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm, and bring the Greek church under ſubjection to that of Rome. The embaſſadors having no other reſource, ſubſcribed to every thing, and returned into Germany, from whence prince Alexis ſet out immediately, and came with the utmoſt expedition to Dalmatia, and upon his arrival, ratified the treaty made by his embaſſadors with the princes of the cruſade.

THESE Latin adventurers, if we may give that name to the princes and noblemen that compoſed this little

* Nangis ad an. 1203.

little army, finding their own private intereſt as well as that of religion in this treaty, ſet ſail with a favourable wind, and, landing in the territories of the Greek emperor, advanced up to the walls of Conſtantinople. Six thouſand French, and about eight thouſand Venetians, in a foreign land, and an enemy's country, without proviſions, or any other ſuccour but their courage and their arms, undertook the ſiege of the capital of a great empire, in which it is ſaid, there were not fewer than two hundred thouſand men armed for its defence. The ſoldiers of the cruſade made ſeveral attacks both by ſea and land; all the leaders did wonders; and particularly the illuſtrious doge of Venice, then above eighty years of age; and though his ſight was almoſt gone, he put himſelf at the head of his troops, where, by his example ſtill more than by his words, he animated his men, gave the proper orders, and commanded in the action. The Greeks on the other hand lined the wall with archers and ſoldiers, who, with ſhowers of arrows, ſtones and fire works, repulſed the beſiegers, and there was no appearance that a handful of Latins could carry a place defended by an inumerable multitude of people. But the uſurper [a], ſtung with remorſe of his conſcience, and ſtill more uneaſy with the fear of being delivered up by ſome ſecret enemies to the lords of the cruſade, fled away by night in a bark with his family and treaſures, and his flight made the ſoldiers and inhabitants drop their arms, and open their gates to the Latins; the ſelf ſame day a tyrant deſerting his own army, and become a fugitive, the lawful prince delivered out of priſon and re-eſtabliſhed on the throne, and the courtiers with the principal citizens applauding a ſucceſs which the evening before they had oppoſed with all their forces. The firſt care of the old emperor was to make prince Alexis his ſon partner with him in the empire. This ceremony was performed on Auguſt 1. 1203. The chiefs of the cruſade attended him afterwards into moſt of the provinces of the empire, where they 1203.

[a] Alexis III.

they eſtabliſhed his authority. But they were ill recompenſed for it: Alexis ſeeing himſelf quiet on the throne, put off, under various pretences, paying the ſums he was obliged to by the treaty. His wiles were his ruin. The Greeks, afraid of being made ſubject to the church of Rome, hated him, and the breach of his word rendered him odious to thoſe of the cruſade.

A PRINCE of the family of Ducas, called Murzulphle, becauſe of his thick eye brows which
1204. met together, formed a deſign to dethrone him: he got by baſe compliances, and a continual ſeries of flattery, the aſcendant over his mind; he governed the empire abſolutely, and at the ſame time that he perſuaded the prince not to comply with the demands of the Latins, his emiſſaries gave out, that the emperor detained them at the gates of Conſtantinople, only to force the inhabitants to acknowledge the pope's authority. The people hereupon mutiny, run to arms, and cry, that Alexis ought to be depoſed. The emperor Iſaac his father, worn out with years, died at that time of grief, to ſee his misfortunes break out afreſh: Alexis in confuſion applies to his benefactors, and conjures them to ſend ſome of their troops into the city for his ſecurity. The marqueſs of Montferrat, forgetting his ingratitude, promiſed to come to his relief; and it was agreed, that one of the gates of the city ſhould be kept open for him the night following. The perfidious Murzulphle gives private notice of it to the mutineers; this news encreaſes the uproar; the whole city take up arms, and reſolve to elect a new emperor. Murzulphle, the ſilent ringleader of the revolt, miſtruſting the inconſtancy of the people, to make a trial of the danger, cauſed a young man of great birth but no intereſt to be choſen emperor. His name was Nicholas Canabe. The falſe Murzulphle, ſeeing all the people out of averſion to his nephew, running in to put the crown upon his idol, ſecretly ſecures the perſon of that phantom of an emperor, and goes at night to the palace, awakens the prince, and adviſes him to withdraw from the fury of a mu-

a mutinous populace, that were in queſt of him, as he ſaid, to put him to death. The young emperor abandons himſelf to his perfidious advice, follows him; and Murzuphle, under pretence of concealing him, carries him into a loneſome part of the palace, where the unhappy prince, as ſoon as he entered, was ſeized and put in irons. The uſurper ſtrips him of his buskins wrought with eagles, and the other marks of the imperial dignity, puts them on himſelf, and, attended with his relations and accomplices, preſents himſelf to the people, exhorts them to break off all correſpondence with the Latins, and propoſes to make a war upon them. This diſcourſe, which flattered the animoſity of the unruly multitude, is received with great applauſe. They proclaim him emperor on the ſpot: and not to let the zeal of the people cool, he gets himſelf crowned. Hiſtory does not tell us what became of poor Canabe, who diſappeared at once, and was never heard of afterwards. As to the emperor Alexis, whoſe life gave him great uneaſineſs, he twice together cauſed poiſon to be mixed with that prince's food; but the poiſon not working quick enough, this barbarous wretch, impatient to be rid of him, went into the dungeon where he was ſhut up, and ſtrangled him with his own hands.

How juſt an indignation ſoever the lords of the cruſade had againſt young Alexis, yet they lamented his unhappy fate, and reſolved to revenge his death. War was proclaimed againſt the tyrant, who made preparations to carry it on, and put the inhabitants in arms. The troops of the cruſade laid ſiege to the place a ſecond time; they brought the ſame courage to the enterprize; and, without amuſing themſelves with the ordinary forms of war, they attempted a ſcalado; and after a combat, which laſted almoſt the whole day, they ſeized upon ſome towers, where they fortified themſelves during the night. They were reſolved to carry on the attack at break of day, but were agreeably ſurprized by ſome of the inhabitants, who informed them that the uſurper was fled. In the morning

ing they renewed their attack, when the weak reſiſtance they met with, and the terrible diſorder and confuſion the city was in, made them ſoon ſenſible that the ſurprizing news was true. The French and Venetians enter Conſtantinople ſword in hand, break into the palace and houſes of the principal nobility, and commit all thoſe diſorders, which are the ordinary effects of the fury and greedineſs of the ſoldiery.

THE next buſineſs was to elect an emperor. The chiefs of the cruſade referred the choice to twelve electors, ſix of them French, and ſix Venetians; and it was agreed, that whatever nation the emperor was of, the patriarch ſhould be taken out of the other. If the doge had been a competitor for the empire, 'tis certain he would have had the beſt intereſt. But that wiſe prince, conſidering that the imperial dignity in a Venetian would be the ruin of a republick government, renounced it both for himſelf and his nation; ſo that there was nothing more to do, but to make a good choice among the French, and other nations that compoſed the army. Moſt of the votes ſeemed determined in favour of the marqueſs of Montferrat; and indeed it looked as if they could not without injuſtice refuſe the dignity to a prince, whom they had choſen already out of ſo many others, to be their own general, and who, by his valour and conduct, had made them maſters of Conſtantinople. But the politick doge, dreading his great qualities, and afraid of ſeeing the empire united to the dominions which that prince was already poſſeſſed of in Italy, determined moſt of the electors in favour of Baldwin count of Flanders, from whom there was no ſuch danger to be apprehended. That prince was crowned with great ſolemnity in the church of St. Sophia. Thomas Morofini was choſen patriarch of Conſtantinople; and the marqueſs of Montferrat had afterwards for his ſhare the kingdom of Theſſalonica, and the Venetians moſt of the iſlands of the Archipelago.

BALDWIN could not be ignorant of the averſion which his new ſubjects had to the government of a prince

prince ſubject to the church of Rome. To remove this prejudice, and bring them to an uniformity of belief, ſo neceſſary to the tranquillity of a ſtate, he procured from pope Innocent [a] ſome clergy and monks, remarkable for their learning and virtue, who uſed their endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm, and unite the two churches. He invited at the ſame time the hoſpitallers of St. John into his dominions, gave them conſiderable eſtates in the provinces which held of the empire, and reſtored them the poſſeſſion of the two houſes which they had in Conſtantinople, till the uſurper Andronicus drove them thence. Geoffrey de Ville-hardouin, marſhal of Champagne and Romania, tells us in his hiſtory, that Matthieu de Montmorency, one of the chief leaders of the cruſade, dying in this famous expedition, was buried at Conſtantinople in the church of St. John of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem [b].

THERE was not a Chriſtian prince within either Aſia or Europe, but would have ſome hoſpitallers in his dominions. Magnificent hoſpitals and churches were at that time built for them at Florence, Piſa and Verona. Beſides theſe foundations for the knights, the hoſpital nuns of the ſame order had ſome conſiderable houſes in thoſe three cities, in which theſe pious ſiſters made piety, charity, and all Chriſtian virtues flouriſh. We muſt not omit to mention here the bleſſed ſiſter Ubaldina, whoſe memory is held in ſingular veneration at Piſa, and over all the order. This holy nun was born about the middle of the twelfth century, at the caſtle of Calcinaya, in the county of Piſa. As ſoon as ſhe was of age to chuſe for herſelf, ſhe took the habit, and profeſſed herſelf in the houſe of St. John de Piſo. Nature formed her generous and beneficent; grace rendered her charitable: ſhe was the mo-

[a] See the epiſtles of Innocent III. Books 13. 14. 15. and 16.

[b] Lors lor avint une mult grant meſavanture en l'oſt que Mahius de Montmorency quê ere un des meillor chevalier del royaume de France, et des plus priſiez et des plus amez fû mors, et ce fû grant diels et grant domages, un des greignors qui avint en l'oſt, d'un ſeul home, et fû enterrez en une yglíſe de Moſſeignor St. Jehan de l'hôpital de Jeruſalem. Ville-hardouin, p. 80.

ther of the poor; the ſick met with a relief always at hand in her aſſiduous care; there was no kind of miſery but ſhe brought a remedy for it, or gave conſolation under it; and when her duties allowed her ſome moments to herſelf, ſhe ſpent them before the croſs, and in a continual meditation upon the death and paſſion of our divine Saviour.

THAT ſhe might be worthy to partake of the benefits of that great myſtery, ſhe crucified her body with ſurprizing auſterities. From the time of her profeſſion ſhe never left off her hair cloth, a board ſerved for her bed, her faſtings were continual, her food bread and water, with a few roots: ſhe was particularly induſtrious in her penances; ſhe ſought eagerly after all occaſions of practiſing ſome ſecret mortification; had ſhe a taſte, a bias, a natural inclination or averſion for any thing, as ſoon as ſhe perceived it, all was ſacrificed; ſhe was, as we may ſay, a continual martyr; and if her ſex and profeſſion did not allow her to bear a ſhare with the knights her brethren in the torments to which they were expoſed, when they fell into the hands of the infidels, it may be ſaid, that by the pious cruelties wherewith ſhe mortified her body, ſhe was their companion in ſufferings, and the croſs which ſhe wore outwardly, was not ſo much an ornament as a mark and character of that which ſhe had ſo deeply engraved in her heart. Having lived in a continual excerciſe of theſe virtues, the bleſſed Ubaldina died about A. D. 1206. The authors of her life mention ſeveral miracles which it pleaſed God to work by her interceſſion; but the firſt and greateſt of all was a lively faith, an unbounded charity, a ſpirit of mortification, and that combination of virtues, of which, for the honour of the order of St. John, it may be ſaid, there were at that time very eminent examples.

1206.

WE have ſeen above, that the grand maſter, at the requeſt of Amaury de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, and at the pope's recommendation, had ſent a body of knights into that iſland, to keep the ſubjects thereof

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in the obedience they owed their ſovereign. That prince, king of Cyprus, and king likeways of Jeruſalem in right of queen Iſabel his wife, died this year without any iſſue by her; and the queen outliving him but a few days, the two crowns, which by their marriage had been united upon their heads, were divided again by their death.

MARY, the eldeſt daughter of queen Iſabel, and Conrad of Montferrat prince of Tyre her ſecond huſband, was acknowledged heireſs of the crown of Jeruſalem; and Hugh de Luſignan, ſon to Amaury by his firſt wife, ſucceeded the king his father in the crown of Cyprus. This young prince married the princeſs Alice, half ſiſter to Mary by the mother's ſide, and daughter of Iſabel and Henry count of Champagne her third husband. The Chriſtians of Paleſtine, finding themſelves deſtitute of a ſovereign, who was as neceſſary to keep the great lords of the kingdom in their duty, as he was to oppoſe the arms of the infidels, ſent the biſhop of Acre, and Aimar, lord of Cæſarea in right of his wife, as their deputies to king Philip Auguſtus, to deſire him to recommend a husband to them for the young queen of Jeruſalem, that would be capable of defending her dominions.

THE king named them John de Brienne, a young nobleman full of valour, wiſe, capable of governing a ſtate, and of commanding an army, ſuch a one indeed as the preſſing occaſions of the Holy Land, and a tottering throne required. The young count, not conſidering the vaſt number of enemies wherewith that little kingdom was encompaſſed, ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled with the empty title of king, and the circumſtance of owing it entirely to his own merit and reputation. He received the king's propoſal with all due acknowledgments, and having taken ſuch meaſures as he thought neceſſary with the embaſſadors of Paleſtine, he ſent them away before him, charging them to aſſure the queen and grandees of the kingdom, that he would come to Acre with a formidable

army, and in a condition, after the truce was expired, to begin the war again with ſucceſs.

THE embaſſadors, returning into the eaſt, gave out, that the count de Brienne would arrive immediately at the head of a powerful cruſade, compoſed of the moſt warlike nations of Europe, and commanded moſt of them by their own ſovereigns. They even named the princes who had put on the croſs, the number of their troops, and the fleets they were to put to ſea. The noiſe of this armament, which they were magnifying continually, as it commonly happens in ſpeaking of things at a diſtance, and ſuch as flatter our hopes, raiſed the courage of the Chriſtians, and alarmed the infidels. Safadine propoſed to the council of regency to prolong the truce, offering in that caſe to reſtore them ten ſuch towns or caſtles as lay moſt for the convenience of the Chriſtians.

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, who, by the knowledge he had of the affairs of Europe, did not ſee that any ſuch mighty ſuccours could be ſent as the embaſſador gave them hopes of, was of opinion, that they ſhould make their advantage of the fear of the infidels, and accept the truce they had propoſed. The maſter of the Teutonick order, and moſt of the lords and barons of the country were of the ſame ſentiments; but the grand maſter of the templars and the prelates oppoſed it, though, ſays Sanut [a], the advice of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers was certainly beſt. The very propoſing of it indeed by the hoſpitallers was a ſufficient reaſon to make the templars contradict it. This grand maſter of the hoſpitallers died about A. D. 1206. The hiſtorians of that time do not acquaint us with his extraction; but there is in Touraine a very ancient and noble family of the name of Rat, from which, in all probability, this grand maſter was

[a] Magiſtri quoque hoſpitalis et Alamannorum cunctique barones treugas prolongare vellent; magiſter tamen templi, ac prælati, licet eſſet utilius, minime aſſenſerunt. Mar. Sanut. c. 3. p. 206.

was deſcended. The order choſe in his place brother Guerin de Montaigu, a French man by nation, and of the language of Auvergne, who, in a ſhort time after his election, did conſiderable ſervice to the Greek Chriſtians of Armenia Minor. GUERIN DE MONTAIGU.

POPE Innocent III. writing to the biſhops of France, repreſents to them, in one of his letters, the miſerable ſtate of the Latin Chriſtians of the eaſt, according to the advices he had received from thoſe parts. The ſovereign pontiff adds[a], that, to make the misfortune ſtill greater, Raimond count of Tripoli, ſecond ſon to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and Leo king of Armenia, conteſted for the ſucceſſion of that principality, even before the ſovereign's death; that the inhabitants of Antioch, ſupported by the templars, had declared themſelves for the count, and the hoſpitallers had taken the king's part; that the infidels too had engaged in the quarrel to make their advantage of it; that the ſultan of Aleppo was raiſing forces in favour of the count of Tripoli; that Dennequin, another Turkiſh prince, was leading a conſiderable ſuccour to the king of Armenia; and, what is more deplorable, continues the pontiff, Safadine, ſultan of Egypt and Damaſcus, the mightieſt of all the infidels, has levied numerous armies, without declaring as yet in favour of any party, and, in all appearance, with a view to make his advantage of all events, and to raiſe his empire on the ruin of both.

WE have obſerved already, that of the marriage contracted between young Bohemund, eldeſt ſon of the prince of Antioch, and Alice, daughter to Rupin of the mountain, there was iſſue a ſon, named alſo Rupin, who, after the death of young Bohemund his father, purſuant to the treaty of peace made with Leo king of Armenia, his great uncle, had been declared by old Bohemund his grandfather preſumptive heir of his dominions. But Raimond count of Tripoli, ſecond

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[a] Ep. 271. vide Ep. 370. ejuſdem, quæ extat apud Rog. Hov. fol. 454, edit. Lond. an. 1598.

cond ſon to old Bohemund, pretended, that ſuch declaration ought not to take place, and that the right of ſucceſſion, immediately after the prince his father's death, belonged to him, and not to his nephew: theſe were the pretenſions of the two contending parties.

THE king of Armenia, though brought up in the ſchiſm, ſeeing his dominions ſurrounded by thoſe of the Latin princes, pretended to reconcile himſelf to the catholick church. He had wrote ſeveral times to the pope, to declare, that he acknowledged his authority, and had likeways obliged his patriarch, whom the Armenians call the catholick, to take the like ſtep. But to ſpeak the truth, this union was only temporary, and the pretended ſubmiſſion of the Armenians laſted no longer than they had need of the protection of the holy ſee.

LIVRON renewed his proteſtations at this juncture, and at the ſame time made preſſing inſtances to Innocent, intreating him to require the templars to make no more oppoſition to the rights of his nephew, but to conform themſelves to the conduct of the hoſpitallers, who, ſaid he, after being convinced of the juſtice of young Rupin's claim, had declared in his favour. This prince, in another letter, deſires the pope to interpoſe his authority, that this great affair might be determined in an amicable manner, and begs, that he would be pleaſed, to take upon himſelf the nomination of impartial judges; amongſt which, he particularly recommends to him the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers.

WHILST this difference was in agitation at the court of Rome, Soliman de Roveniden ſultan
1209. of Iconium, of the race of the Selgeucidian Turcomans, entered Armenia, at the inſtance of the count of Tripoli, and deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword. Leo gave immediate advice of it to the pope; and that pontiff, at his requeſt, engaged the hoſpitallers to undertake the defence of his dominions. The grand maſter de Montaigu drew a ſtrong body into the field and joined him; upon which they

they marched againſt the ſultan, and after ſeveral engagements, and a bloody and obſtinate battle, the Turcoman prince was defeated, his army cut in pieces, and thoſe that eſcaped from the ſword of the conquerors, had great difficulty to get back into Bithynia, with the ſultan who commanded them.

THE Armenian prince, either out of gratitude, or to engage the hoſpitallers ſtill more cloſely in his intereſts, granted them in property the town of Saleph, with the fortreſſes of Chateauneuf and Camard. He ſent the deed of this grant to pope Innocent III. who confirmed it by his bull, bearing date in the thirteenth year of his pontificate. The ſovereign pontiff prevailed afterwards with the count of Tripoli, to agree to a truce with the king of Armenia, and ordered the two legates that he kept in the eaſt, to force the refractory ſide to it by all ſpiritual methods, and to make uſe likeways of the aſſiſtance and arms of the hoſpitallers, to maintain peace in that part of Chriſtendom. Prince Rupin, nephew to Livron, two years after made the like application to pope Honorius III. to obtain the aſſiſtance of the hoſpitallers, as may be ſeen in the brief of that pope. This was not the firſt time that the popes had made uſe of the arms of the hoſpitallers in the eaſt, againſt princes that did not think themſelves bound by the thunders of the Vatecan.

THOSE pontiffs employed them no leſs ſerviceably at the ſame time againſt the Moors and Saracens of Spain, and Mahomet Enacer Miramolin, king of Morocco, having entered Caſtile, at the head of a formidable army, brother Guttiere d'Ermegilde, prior of the hoſpitallers of Caſtile, upon the orders he received from Rome and from the grand maſter, came to offer his ſervice to king Alphonſus VIII. at the head of a large number of knights, and of the vaſſals of the order.

RODERIC, archbiſhop of Toledo, ſpeaking of theſe knights in his hiſtory: the military brothers the hoſpitallers

pitallers, says that prelate[a], inflamed with zeal, took up arms in this country, to maintain our holy religion, and drive the infidels out of Spain.

A FAMOUS French hospitaller, called brother Guerin, minister of state to Philip Augustus, and general of his army, rendered at the same time services every way as important to the church, and to his country. He was brought up in this kingdom, in a dangerous heresy, which, under pretence of a higher spiritual perfection, undermined the foundations of religion. A clergyman of the dioceſs of Chartres, named Amaury, a subtle logician, was the author of it. At leaſt Rigord, a contemporary hiſtorian, affirms, that the diſciples of this doctor maintained publickly, that as the laws of the old teſtament, given, as they ſaid, by the eternal father, had been aboliſhed by the goſpel and the new law of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo this was to be ſuppreſſed in its turn by the law of charity, which was the work of the Holy Ghoſt; that under this law of pure love, the uſe of the ſacraments was as unneceſſary as that of the legal ceremonies of the old law. He added, that paradiſe and hell had no exiſtence but in the imagination of men; that the pleaſure of doing good works was the true paradiſe, and that ſin and ignorance made all our hell. He required nothing of his followers, for the whole practice of religion, but only the love of God, the flame of which, he ſaid, was capable of purifying even adultery itſelf.

THESE errors, being ſpread abroad by men of parts and eloquence, perverted great numbers of perſons, and particularly many women, who are always fond of novelty. Brother Guerin[b] of the order of the hoſpitallers

[a] Fratres etiam militiæ hoſpitalis, qui fraternitatis caritati inſiſtentes devotè, zelo fidei, et Terræ Sanctæ neceſſitate accenſi, defenſionis gladium aſſumpſerunt. Hi ſub uno priore Guterrio Ermegildi, &c. Roderic. Toletanus, t. 2. l. 8. c. 3. p. 130. de rebus Hiſpanicis.

[b] Hault conſors aviez ou bon veſque Garin,
Par Dieu et par ſon ſens euſtes moult d'amis,
Proudom fu, et l' Ajax ſgachié certainement,

Bien

lers of St. John of Jeruſalem, who, in the reigns of Philip Auguſtus and Louis VIII. his ſon, had a great ſhare in the government, employed his pains and authority to ſtop the progreſs of this new ſect. He was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and at the ſame time the greateſt officer of his nation; and it was not eaſy to determine, whether, in the management of the ſtate, his valour, or his piety and wiſdom had the aſcendant. During the vacancy of the dignity of chancellor, the king had appointed him to do the functions of it. The chancery being vacant, ſays the hiſtorian of that time[a], this wiſe miniſter took care to have the principal leaders of theſe fanaticks puniſhed: there were ſeveral that acknowledged their errors, and the moſt obſtinate went to join themſelves to the Albigenſes, a ſort of Manichees, who admitted two principles, a good and an evil one, to which they aſcribed all the actions of men. They were called Albigenſes, from the town of Albi in Languedoc, moſt of the inhabitants of which were infected with this hereſy. The pope, to extripate them the ſhorteſt way, cauſed a new cruſade to be preached up againſt them, annexing the ſame indulgences to it as were granted for the war of the Holy Land, requiring from ſuch as engaged in it only forty days ſervice.

THIS eaſy way of getting indulgences, drew an infinite number of the cruſade into Languedoc, and deprived

[redacted] qui l'ama durement,
Bien le ſceut votre pere [redacted] biens fu plains.
Moult fu de haut conſeil et de tous [redacted]
Et ere bien entechiez de loyal cuer certains,
Puis le tens Charlemaine, qui fu un Arceveſques,
Qu'en apela Turpin, ne fu ſi bon Eveſques
Volontiers eſſauçoit l'onor de ſainte Egliſe,
Sire, et les vos droits gardoit il ſans faintiſe.
Moult l'ama li bons Rois qui Felipes ot non
Et apres votre pere qui Dex face pardon,
Et la bon Roine l'amoit et tenoit chier,
Qu'en votre cort n' avoit nul meillor Conſeiller.
Joinville, p. 165. in the ſermon of Robert de Sainceriaux.

[a] Rigordus de Geſtis Philippi Auguſti Franc. Regis. p. 208. an 1209.

prived the Christians of the Holy Land of their succour; which was the cause why John de Brienne, at his setting out for Jerusalem, could not possibly get together above three hundred knights, instead of those mighty armies, that were to insure him an easy entrance into Palestine. They were strangely surprized to see him land at the port of Acre, with so small a company, sufficient indeed for the retinue of a king, but contemptible in regard to the hopes that had been given them, and to the necessities of the state.

NEVERTHELESS that lord, after marrying the young queen, took the field, to signalize his accession to the crown by some action worthy of his courage. He ravaged at first all the frontiers of the enemy, and took some castles of small consequence; but several bodies of Sarazens advancing to beset him, he was obliged to retire; and thought it advantage enough, to have made his escape from such mighty enemies.

HE wrote immediately to the pope, to give him an account in what condition he found the Holy Land; and added, that what they called the kingdom of Jerusalem, consisted only in two or three places, which they could maintain no longer than the civil wars lasted between the brother and sons of Saladine, and that unless a new crusade was sent into Palestine, he should soon be a king without a kingdom or subjects.

INNOCENT was sensibly affected with this sad news. That pontiff, like most of his predecessors, besides the zeal which made him intent upon the recovery of the Holy Land, interested himself particularly in these wars, whereof the popes were regarded as the heads, and wherein their legates pretended to command with an authority superior to the generals, and even the princes that engaged in these pious expeditions; a new sort of sovereignty, unknown in former ages, which, under pretence of opposing the invasions of infidels, subjected vast armies of Christians to the pope's orders, and in many instances when sovereigns were at the head of them.

THE

THE pope, full of theſe great views, and deſigning to ſuccour the new king of Jeruſalem, was thoroughly perſuaded, that nothing but a new cruſade could bring thoſe numerous armies into the field, that were the terror of the barbarians. To raiſe therefore troops in moſt of the dominions in Chriſtendom, he reſolved, after the example of Urban II. the firſt author of the cruſades, to call a general council: and beſides the bulls for that purpoſe, he cauſed publick notice to be given of it by a great number of eccleſiaſticks and religious, who ſpread themſelves over all Europe, and in their ſermons, cried up the merit of ſuch voyages, and exaggerated perhaps a little too much the general indulgences which were annexed to them. But the execution of this pious deſign, was ſuſpended by a formidable alliance 1210. made againſt France, in which a great number of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom were engaged. Theſe princes made preparations of war on all ſides, and when troops were every where in motion, the pope ſaw it was by no means proper to require any biſhops to take a journey; and the rather, becauſe when they ſhould be met together, they could not propoſe at ſuch a time to draw any ſuccour from France and Germany, the ſureſt reſources of all the cruſades.

OTHO IV. emperor of Germany, was at the head of this league againſt France; and among his allies were John king of England, the counts of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne and Salisbury, natural brother to the king of England, Henry duke of Brabant, Frederic duke of Lorrain, Thibault count of Luxemburgh, and Philip de Courtenay, marqueſs of Namur, ſon of Peter de Courtenay count of Auxerre. It may perhaps be ſurprizing, to ſee, among the enemies of France, the duke of Brabant, who was the king's ſon-in-law, the count of Bar his ſubject, whoſe ſon too was in the French ſervice, Ferrand de Portugal a vaſſal of the crown, to whom the king had given the heireſs of Flanders in marriage, and the marqueſs of Namur, a

prince

prince of the royal blood; nor could theſe princes be well excuſed from the crime of defection and rebellion, if it was not known that ſome of them held their principal territories under the empire; that they were feodataries of it, and that, if they had not joined the emperor's army, that prince, who had invaded the Low Countries with an army of an hundred thouſand men, would have begun with ſtripping them of their great fiefs. Hence it is, that the count of Bar, though a vaſſal of the crown, to preſerve the county of Luxemburgh, was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to furniſh his quota of troops to the emperor, and lead them in perſon to the imperial camp.

THE principal chiefs of this alliance were ſo perſuaded, that the king could not reſiſt them, that they had beforehand divided his dominions amongſt them, and diſmembered the fineſt provinces of this great kingdom from the body of the monarchy.

THE emperor indeed had reſerved the ſovereignty in chief, and the ſupreme demeſne of the crown to himſelf; but the king of England claimed for his ſhare all the provinces about the Loire; Renaud de Dammartin count of Boulogne, a ſecret enemy to the king, and the warmeſt promoter of the league, had ſet his heart on the Vermandois and the neighbouring provinces, which lay convenient for him, and the count of Flanders was promiſed Paris, the iſle of France, and that part of Picardy which adjoins to Paris.

THIS was, as we may ſay, to ſell the bear's skin before he was killed; theſe princes had to do with an enemy not eaſy to be beaten. Philip II. king of France, ſo juſtly ſtiled Auguſtus by poſterity, without
1214. being daunted at the number and force of his enemies, advanced towards Peronne, at the head of forty thouſand men, moſt of them well diſciplined troops, beſides thirty five thouſand militia, drawn out of the neighbouring provinces, which formed a large body of infantry. Moſt of the princes and barons of the kingdom attended the king; the gentry were ſummoned, all the gentlemen flew to the ſuccour

cour of their country, and no other knights were as yet known, but ſuch as had acquired that glorious title by their valour, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by uncommon bravery in the field.

THE king of France, at the head of this brave gentry, thought himſelf invincible; and though he had little more than ſixty thouſand men in his army, he reſolved to carry the war into the enemy's country; he left Peronne the twenty third of July, fell into Flanders, and encamped near Tournay. The emperor on the other hand advanced as far as Mortagne, which is but three leagues diſtant from it, and intrenched himſelf there. Beſides above two hundred thouſand men that he had in his army, he was poſted too advantageouſly to be forced in his camp.

THE king, to draw him out of his intrenchments, made a motion towards Hainault. The emperor taking this march for a flight, and fearing that in his retreat he ſhould ravage the province of one of his allies, marched the ſame way, and arrived in the plain of Bouvines, on Sunday July 27. The king was come thither only ſome hours before him; and, as he thought of nothing but penetrating into Hainault, his vanguard had already paſſed a bridge that he had laid over the Marque, when he was advertiſed by his ſcouts, that the allies were advancing in order of battle, i. e. with ſtandards diſplayed, their horſes barded, and the ſerjeants, a ſort of dragoons attached to the ſervice of the men of arms, ordered to diſmount, and marching a foot before them. The king immediately diſpatched the hoſpitaller Guerin, who acted as marſhal de bataille, to take a view of the enemy. The long experience he had acquired in the wars of the eaſt, and the laurels he had gathered in a ſeries of engagements with the infidels, made him fill that honourable poſt, without the leaſt jealouſy or envy from the greateſt lords of the kingdom.

HISTORY has not tranſmitted to us either his ſurname, or that of his family. 'Tis certain, that as he was an hoſpitaller of St. John, he muſt have been of

noble extraction: this is all we can ſay on that head. His piety and learning had occaſioned his being elected biſhop of Senlis; but he was not yet conſecrated, and we are going to ſee on this occaſion new proofs of his capacity in the art of war. Rigord, a contemporary hiſtorian, who was in the king's retinue, ſpeaking of this knight, "He was, ſays he, a very brave "officer, of admirable conduct, of a ſteady judgment, "and ſo great penetration, that he ſaw into all e-"vents that could happen." Le Breton, another contemporary hiſtorian, adds, "That he had the entire "affection and confidence of the king his maſter, and "was the firſt perſon in the kingdom after him." Yet, ſays Rigord, "though this illuſtrious knight ſhone "with all the luſtre that royal favour could give "him, he never would, in the height of his autho-"rity, quit the the habit of his order, which he wore "always under his armour." Such was this famous hoſpitaller, who did ſo much honour to his nation and his order. The king, who depended entirely on him for the conduct of the army, having ordered him, as we have juſt ſaid, to go and view the enemy, he took Adam viſcount de Melun, one of the braveſt noblemen in the kingdom, along with him; and, putting himſelf at the head of a body of horſe, he advanced to a riſing ground, from whence he diſcovered the march and diſpoſition of the army of the allies, and leaving the viſcount in that poſt, with orders to amuſe the enemy without engaging, he returned in all haſte to the king, and told him, that he was much miſtaken, if he was not going to be attacked by the emperor.

PHILIP immediately called a council of war. It was there debated, whether the troops ſhould continue to paſs the river, or whether the vanguard that had croſſed it, ſhould not be ordered to march back again, and give battle to the enemy. Moſt of the general officers were of opinion, that they ſhould avoid an engagement that day, becauſe it was an old cuſtom of the nation, never to fight on a Sunday; they ſaid, the

the French had always made a ſcruple of ſhedding blood on that holy day; beſides, the ſoldiers were fatigued with a long march, and the allies being ſo much ſuperior in troops, it was proper to wait the coming up of the gentry, who were on their march to join the army; and therefore they ought to make all the troops paſs to the other ſide; that the river would ſerve for a barrier, and the enemy would not hazard paſſing it in ſight of ſo ſtrong an army as the king's.

THE hoſpitaller Guerin, who, from his long experience in the art of war, judged that they could hardly avoid an engagement, told them, that they debated about a matter which was not in their power; that the enemy was too near, and, if they continued paſſing the whole army over the river, they would expoſe their rear and hindermoſt troops to be cut in pieces. Nevertheleſs, as he was almoſt the only perſon of this opinion, and the emperor's troops had at that very moment made a motion, as if they would march towards Tournay, it was reſolved, by a majority of voices to paſs over the river; but the emperor's army wheeling about, and falling at once upon the body commanded by the viſcount de Melun, fully juſtified the ſoundneſs of Guerin's judgment. The king ſaw plainly, there was no avoiding an engagement; ſo the van was immediately ordered to repaſs the river, and the knight, who acted as marſhal de bataille, drew up the forces in order of battle, aſſigning every troop their proper poſt. Superior in capacity to the enemy's generals, he contrived to get the ſun in his back, which darting in the enemy's eyes, afforded him the ſame advantage, eſpecially in the heat of the dogdays, as Hannibal had againſt the Romans at the battle of Cannæ. The monk Rigord, the king's chaplain and phyſician, who in this battle kept always near his maſter's perſon, ſays, "That he ſaw the hoſpitaller "Guerin, after having ranged the army in Battalia, "ride among the ranks, paſs along the ſquadrons and "battalions, and exhort every one to fight bravely "for the defence of their king and country." He

adds, "That this illuſtrious knight, after the ſignal of battle was given, on account of his election to the "biſhoprick of Senlis, would not engage among the "combatants, but contented himſelf with giving his "orders, and directing the different brigades of the "army to be led on at the time there was occaſion "for them."

THERE was ſcarce ever a battle in France diſputed for ſo long a time; all cloſed in together, and fought with equal fury; the king performed prodigies of valour; ſix ſcore French gentlemen were killed by his ſide; and he himſelf had like to have been loſt; he received a ſtroke of a lance in his throat; his horſe was ſlain under him, himſelf trampled under the horſes feet; two ſingle gentlemen, Montigny and Triſtan, to ſave their maſter, made him a rampart with their bodies, and ſuſtained all the efforts of the enemy; the king leaps upon Triſtan's horſe; and putting himſelf at the head of a body of his gentry that had juſt come to his ſuccour, charges the enemy afreſh, and breaks through a ſquadron of Germans that made head againſt him; nothing is able to ſtand againſt the fury of the French, who, before the eyes of their prince, and breathing vengeance for the danger he had run, make a terrible ſlaughter. They puſh on; they pierce even to the perſon of the emperor, who was in the centre of that ſquadron. De Trie gives him a thruſt with his lance, which makes his cuiraſs uſeleſs; Mauvoiſin ſeizes the bridle of his horſe, and the young count of Bar, whoſe father as count Luxemburg, was in the army of allies, ſeizes the emperor by the neck: Desbarres ſeneſchal of Anjou coming up, takes him by the middle to pull him off his horſe; all of them ambitious of the honour of taking an emperor priſoner: but the Germans coming up in ſhoals to his ſuccour, drive off the French, open him a way to retreat; and that prince mounting a freſh horſe, ſtill ſtunned with the danger he had been in, without any regard to his glory, betakes himſelf to flight. The king ſeeing him gallop off, could not help ſaying with a

ſmile,

ſmile, to the lords about him, "My friends, you'll "ſee nothing more of him to-day but his back."

THE emperor, by his flight, carried off moſt of the troops; thoſe whom their courage ſtill kept in the field, and who reſolved to diſpute a victory already loſt, were cut in pieces. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Salisbury, Euſtace of Hainault, an hoſpitaller of St. John, Hugh Manges preſident of the emperor's council, and thirty lords bannerets, were taken priſoners. Otho, deſpiſed by the Germans, abdicated afterwards the empire. The king of England, odious to his ſubjects, paſſed the reſt of his days in a civil war; and the victory of Bovines, ſo exceeding glorious to Philip, reſtored peace and tranquillity over all Europe. 1214.

THE pope, to improve the preſent calm, and engage the princes of the weſt in a common league againſt the infidels, called a general council at Rome, in the church of Lateran. This was the twelfth œcumenical one, and the fourth of Lateran. There were preſent at it four hundred and twelve biſhops, including two patriarchs*, and ſeventy one primates or metropolitans. There came thither embaſſadors from Frederic II. king of Sicily, emperor elect of Germany, from Henry emperor of Conſtantinople, from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jeruſalem, Cyprus and Arragon. The pope opened the council with a very moving diſcourſe, concerning the loſs of the Holy Land, and the obligations that all Chriſtians were under of endeavouring to deliver it from the yoke of the infidels. "That land, "ſays he, which was watered with the blood of our "divine ſaviour, is profaned, and the place where "the ſon of God was adored, is become a temple of "the devil; what a ſcandal and reproach is it, that "the ſon of Hagar ſhould keep the mother of all the "faithful in bondage? We muſt break her chains, "my deareſt brethren. I am ready to put myſelf at "your head: I give up myſelf entirely to your diſ- 1215.

* poſal;

* Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1213.

" poſal; ready, if you think it proper, to go myſelf " to kings, princes and people [a], to try if I can, by the " force of my cries, engage them to take arms, and " revenge the injuries done to the ſaviour of mankind, " who is now chaſed out of the land which he pur- " chaſed with his blood, and in which he accompliſh- " ed the myſteries of our redemption."

HIS diſcourſe drew tears from the whole aſſembly. The princes and lords that were preſent, agreed unanimouſly to put on the croſs; and the fathers of the council made a particular decree, by which they fixed the rendezvous of the cruſade on June 1. A. D. 1217. " Then, ſays the council, ſuch as will paſs " by ſea ſhall aſſemble at Meſſina or Brunduſium, " and the land armies ſhall begin their march the " ſame day."

THE biſhops, after breaking up, preached the cruſade in their dioceſes, with great zeal and ſucceſs. The emperor Frederic, Andrew king of Hungary, Leopold duke of Auſtria, Louis duke of Bavaria, and an infinite number of princes and prelates, French, Hungarians, Dutch, Frieſlanders and Norwegians, put on the croſs: but every one, at taking the badge of his engagement, reſerved to himſelf the right of fixing the time of his departure for the Holy Land, and his ſtay in it, which he regulated according to the ſtate of his health, or ſituation of his affairs. Thus the emperor, whom they thought obliged to put himſelf at the head of the firſt body of the cruſade, was hindered by the troubles of Italy; and beſides, he had not yet received the crown of the empire at Rome; a ceremony which the popes of thoſe times had forced the princes that were elected emperors to ſubmit to.

ANDREW, king of Hungary, was the firſt that ſet out for the ſuccour of the Holy Land, at the 1216. head of an army compoſed of different nations.

He was a prince highly valuable for his piety, and an extraordinary zeal for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

[a] Conc. Lat. 4. Sermo prim.

juſtice. He marched his army by land as far as Venice, where he embarked for Conſtantinople. This prince, before he left his dominions, received a letter from pope Honorius III. who, two years before, had ſucceeded Innocent III. That pontiff exhorted him to undertake nothing in the war againſt the infidels, without the knowledge and advice of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers. The king, in anſwer to this, told him, that he was ſo well ſatisfied of the grand maſter's valour and capacity, that he had wrote to him already agreeable to his holineſs's ſentiments, and had deſired him to meet him in the iſle of Cyprus, about the feaſt of our lady in September, as well to confer together upon meaſures relating to the campaign, as to take the benefit of the grand maſter's ſquadron, for his ſecurer arrival in the port of St. John d'Acre. Theſe circumſtances we learn from the very brief which this pope ſent to the grand maſter, and the whole order of the hoſpitallers, exhorting them in the moſt preſſing terms, to give the king of Hungary, the duke of Auſtin, and all the leaders of the army, their advice, and the ſuccour they might ſtand in need of. Sept. 8.

THE king of Hungary, before he paſſed the Boſphorus, was obliged to ſtay ſome time at Conſtantinople, to wait the arrival of the Italians that engaged in the cruſade, who were daily expected. During his abode in that great city, there happened in his dominions and in his own houſe, a fatal accident, which ſhortened that prince's ſtay in the eaſt, and made him leſs ſerviceable to the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine. His majeſty, when he was leaving his own territories, committed the regency of them to the palatine of the kingdom, named Bancbannus, whoſe zeal and fidelity he had long experienced: he recommended to him at parting, to preſerve peace with the princes his neighbours, and particularly to adminiſter exact juſtice to all his ſubjects, without regard to the birth or dignity of any perſon whatſoever. The palatine, during the king's abſence, omitted nothing to make a

ſuitable

ſuitable return to the confidence he was honoured with; and whilſt he was entirely taken up with the affairs of ſtate, his wife, a lady of admirable beauty, endeavoured, by her conſtant attendance about the queen, to divert the melancholy which the abſence of the king her husband might occaſion.

SUCH was the ſituation of the court of Hungary when the count of Moravia arrived at it. He was the queen's brother, and ſhe loved him tenderly. Nothing was to be ſeen at firſt, but feaſts and diverſions; but in the ſequel, the flattering poiſon of love crept in among theſe innocent amuſements. The count of Moravia became deſperately enamoured with the regent's wife, and had the aſſurance to declare his paſſion to her. The lady, who was yet more virtuous than ſhe was beautiful, anſwered him only by the ſternneſs of her looks. Reſiſtance produced its uſual effect, and the criminal deſires of the count became thereupon but the more violent. His paſſion, which was gaining ground continually, threw him at laſt into a deep melancholy: he cared no more for plays, diverſions, ſhows, and all thoſe vain amuſements, with which the great world ſo ſeriouſly idle away their time: Solitude was his only pleaſure; but the queen, out of a complaiſance natural to women for this ſort of malady, to wean her brother from ſo loneſome a way of life, made uſe of various pretences to keep the regent's wife about her, or to ſend for her whenever ſhe removed from the palace. The lady eaſily ſaw through the diſhonourable motives of this ſeeming fondneſs, and, to avoid all converſation with the count, feigned herſelf for ſome time to be ill; but that pretence being over, and her own birth, as well as her husband's quality, not allowing her to be abſent any longer from court, ſhe returned to the palace. The count, for fear of diſobliging her, diſſembled his ſentiments, and a behaviour full of reſpect ſucceeded in appearance to the violence and extravagance of his paſſion.

THE

THE regent's wife, encouraged by this diſcreet conduct, continued going to court[a]; when the queen, under pretence of talking to her in private, led her into a by-place of her apartment, where ſhutting her in, ſhe abandoned her to the criminal deſires of her brother, who, by concert with the queen, was hid in the cloſet. The regent's wife went thence with confuſion in her looks, and reſentment in her heart; ſhe immured herſelf in her houſe, where ſhe did nothing but bewail in private the count's villainy and her own diſhonour. But the regent being one day about to take his place in her bed, the ſecret broke from her, and carried away by the exceſs of her anguiſh, "Don't "come near me, ſir, ſays ſhe, ſhedding at the ſame "time a torrent of tears, but quit a wife that is no "more worthy of the chaſte embraces of her husband; "a wild wretch has violated your bed; and the "queen his ſiſter was not aſhamed to betray and de"liver me up to his violence. I had before now ta"ken vengeance on myſelf for their crime, if religion "had not reſtrained me from making away with my"ſelf. But that prohibition of the law does not re"gard an injured husband: I am too criminal, ſince "I am deflowered: I ask my death of you as a fa"vour, to keep me from ſurviving my ſhame and my "diſhonour."

THE regent, though in the height of affliction, and in all the fury of reſentment, told her, "That an in"voluntary fault was rather a misfortune than a crime, "and that the violence done to her body did not ſul"ly the purity of her ſoul; that he begged of her to "be eaſy, or at leaſt to take care to conceal the oc"caſion of her ſorrow. A common intereſt, adds he, "obliges us both to diſſemble ſo horrible an outrage, "till we can revenge it in a manner ſuitable to the "enormity of the offence."

HIS deſign was to make the count feel the firſt effects of it; but hearing that he was gone away privately to return into his own country, the regent, enraged that

[a] Bonfin. Dec. 2. p. 279.

that his victim was eſcaped, turned all his reſentment againſt the queen herſelf. He went to the palace, and perſuaded the queen to go into her cloſet, under pretence of ſhowing her ſome letters, which he ſaid he had juſt received from the king. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf alone with her, after reproaching her with the criminal correſpondence ſhe had held with the count, and her treachery to his wife, the furious palatine plunged his dagger in her heart; and going out of the cabinet in a rage, he publickly before the whole court proclaimed his ſhame and his vengeance.

WHETHER it was ſurprize or reſpect that hindred them, no body offered to meddle with him; he mounted his horſe without any obſtacle; and taking ſome noblemen with him, who had been witneſſes of this fatal cataſtrophe, he ſet out for Conſtantinople, where he arrived before the king left that city. He went immediately to the palace where that prince dwelt, and preſenting himſelf before him, with an intrepidity hardly to be paralleled, "Sir, ſays he to "him, when I received your laſt orders at your leav- "ing Hungary, you recommended to me, in a par- "ticular manner, to do exact juſtice to all your ſub- "jects, without regard to any one's rank or conditi- "on. I have done it ſo to myſelf; I have killed the "queen your wife, who had proſtituted mine; and, "far from ſeeking my ſafety in an unworthy flight, "I here bring you my head; diſpoſe as you pleaſe of "my life; but remember, that it is either by my "life or death that your ſubjects will judge of your "equity, and whether I am guilty or innocent."

THE king heard this ſurpriſing diſcourſe without interrupting him, and even without changing colour; and when the regent had ended, "If the caſe be as "you ſay, replies the prince to him, return into "Hungary, continue to adminiſter juſtice to my ſub- "jects, with as much exactneſs and ſeverity as you "have done it to yourſelf: I ſhall ſtay a ſhort while "in the Holy Land, and at my return I will examine

"upon

" upon the ſpot whether your action deſerves com-
" mendation or puniſhment."

THUS Bonfinius, the hiſtorian of Hungary, relates the fact: but Duglos, commonly called Longinus, pretends, that the death of that princeſs was cauſed by a conſpiracy of ſome Hungarian lords, who were incenſed at the queen for bringing ſome German princes, her relations, to court, and giving them the principal poſts of the kingdom. There are other authors too, who maintain, that this princeſs died before the king her husband quitted Hungary to go to the Holy Land.

BE that as it will, his majeſty embarked ſoon after, and arrived without any obſtacle in the iſland of Cyprus. He found there the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers of St. John, with the principal officers of his order; and after conferring with them about the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt, he put to ſea again with Hugh de Luſignan king of the iſland. They had a proſperous voyage; and, without meeting with any oppoſition from the infidels in their paſſage, the whole Chriſtian fleet arrived in the port of St. John d'Acre. The king of Hungary, on his landing, would not lodge in the palace of the king of Jeruſalem, which was made ready for him, either to prevent any diſpute about the ceremonial among the ſeveral princes then at Acre, or becauſe the fatal death of the queen, and the tragical circumſtances that attended it, were true, as Bonfinius pretends, and the crime ſhe was accuſed of, the vengeance that one of his ſubjects had dared to take of it, and the doubt he was tormented with by fits as to the queen's guilt and the regent's fidelity; all this had thrown him into a deep melancholy. He retired to the hoſpitallers, and near the grand maſter, whoſe pious and ſolid diſcourſes were more agreeable to the temper of his mind. There is no deſcribing the religious ſentiments which that prince felt in ſeeing the charity practiſed in that holy houſe with regard to the poor and pilgrims: and what encreaſed his ſurprize and admiration, was to ſee thoſe knights ſo fierce and dreadful, when armed in the field, become like other men

men in their houſe, and employ themſelves, in virtue of their obedience, in all the moſt humbling offices about the poor and ſick.

THE king of Hungary would needs viſit at the ſame time the towns of Margat and Carac, which the hoſpitallers were ſtill maſters of: he found there the ſame regularity and diſcipline, as in the principal houſe of St. John d'Acre, i. e. he ſaw there a number of holy friars and brave ſoldiers, all inflamed with zeal for the conqueſt of the holy places. There is indeed no reproaching theſe military friars with any thing, but a little too much niceneſs in regard to the templars, upon what the men of the world call the point of honour.

THIS prince deſired to be admitted into the order as a brother, that ſo he might partake in the
1218. good works of the hoſpitallers[a]. He gave ſeven hundred merks of ſilver to the order for ever, to be levied every year upon the ſalt works of Saloch in Hungary; and as the knights of Carac were continually in action againſt the infidels, he ſtipulated expreſsly in the deed of his grant, that of theſe ſeven hundred merks, ſixty of them ſhould be applied to the particular occaſions of Raimond de Pigna, governor of the fortreſs of Carac, and his ſucceſſors in the ſame government. The inſtrument of this endowment is ſtill ſubſiſting in the archives of the vatican; and there is an extract given of it in Rainaldi's continuation of Baronius.

WE ſee there the atteſtation that this prince gives to the merit and virtue of theſe knights; "Lodging, ſays "he, in their houſe, I have ſeen them feed every day an "innumerable multitude of poor, the ſick laid in good "beds, and treated with great care, the dying aſſiſted "with an exemplary piety, and the dead buried with "proper decency. In a word, continues that prince, "the knights of St. John are employed, ſometimes "like Mary in contemplation, and ſometimes like "Martha

[a] Reg. Honorius III. t. 1. f. 276. Rain. t. 13. num. 16. p. 280.

" Martha in action; and this noble militia conſecrate " their days either in their infirmities, or elſe in en- " gagements againſt the infidel Amalekites and the " enemies of the croſs." It is thus that the king of Hungary ſpeaks of them [a].

THAT prince having advice that Coradine ſultan of Damaſcus, and ſon to Safadine, had taken the field, in order to beſiege St. John d'Acre, drew immediately out of the town, and advanced towards the enemy with the kings of Jeruſalem and Cyprus, and the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, the maſter of the Teutonic order, and all the troops that were in the place. The infidels, ſurprized at ſo expeditious an armament, and the boldneſs with which the Chriſtians marched againſt them, entrenched themſelves with care: ſeveral of their parties however that went out a foraging were cut in pieces. Coradine did not think it adviſable in this juncture, to come to a deciſive engagement againſt an army that had three kings at its head, but retired into his own territories. The Chriſtians purſued him for ſome time, ravaged his frontier in their turn, and then, as winter was coming on, they ſeparated. The king of Cyprus went to Tripoli, where he fell ſick and died, a little after he quitted the army. The king of Hungary, before he left Paleſtine, bathed himſelf with all his troops in the river Jordan, on St. Martin's eve; a religious ceremony uſed out of devotion by pilgrims, when they were not hindered by the Turks and Sarazens. In fine, this prince, after having ſpent three months in Paleſtine to perform his vow, being preſſed by the remembrance of the misfortunes that had ſince his ab-

[a] Nec immerito cùm illic hoſpitati videremus innumerum pauperum cœtum diurno paſtu quotidie ſuſtentari, teſſos languidorum artus lectiſterniis, variiſque ciborum copiis refici, mortuorum corpora cum debita veneratione ſepeliri, ut in genere ſingulorum referamus quæ per ſingula generum enarrare non poſſumus, ut Mariam et Marthan, ſacratiſſimum ſæpe dictæ domûs hoſpitalis collegium, nunc variis ſincerè contemplationibus, nunc cont. a Dei adverſarios, et hoſtes Crucis Chriſti, adverſus etiam Amalec, inceſſabili perfectæ militiæ conflictu, de die in diem dimicare. Raynaldus, t. 13. n. 16. p. 280.

ſence happened in his kingdom, ſet out upon his return thither. All the inſtances that the patriarch of Jeruſalem could make him, nay, the terrors of excommunication which that prelate thundered out againſt him, could not keep him longer in the Holy Land; and after a long voyage, and various dangers, he arrived ſafe in his dominions. His firſt care upon his return was to have the affair of Bancbannus tried before him; and after hearing the witneſſes himſelf, and examing the various circumſtances of that unhappy affair, he was equitable enough to declare the regent acquitted of the queen's death.

THE king of Jeruſalem, the duke of Auſtria, and the hoſpitallers, after his departure, advanced into the enemy's country, and refortified the caſtle of Cæſarea, whilſt the templars and Teutonic knights on the other hand built, or rather repaired a fortreſs, ſituate on an eminence adjoining, which was called the caſtle of the pilgrims. Theſe two places covered St. John d'Acre, and ſerved at the ſame time to extend their contributions upon lands at that time in the hands of the infidels.

AFTER this expedition, the king, the duke of Auſtria, and the two grand maſters, and the maſter of the Teutonics, returned to St. John d'Acre, where arrived about the ſame time a conſiderable fleet of Germans, Frieſlanders and Dutch, commanded by William I. count of Holland, a ſuccour which very ſeaſonably ſupplied the place of that which they had juſt loſt by the precipitate departure of the king of Hungary.

THE king of Jeruſalem, ſeeing himſelf ſuſtained by theſe troops of the cruſade, and having advice that they were likeways preparing a new army in moſt of the ports of Italy, reſolved to carry the war into Egypt, thereby to oblige the infidels to abandon Paleſtine; and in a great council held, at which were preſent the king, the duke of Auſtria, the grand maſters, and the biſhops, it was agreed to beſiege Damiata, the moſt regular fortification of that kingdom.

This

This reſolution being taken, they embarked their troops at the latter end of May, and ſet ſail. The Chriſtian army in three days time landed in Egypt, and made their deſcent without any oppoſition in a place ſituated weſtward of Damiata, and ſeparated from it only by an arm of the Nile.

THE Chriſtians at firſt met with no reſiſtance, but in a large tower or caſtle, fortified as well as art could make it at that time, built in the middle of that arm of the Nile, and bravely defended by the garriſon. My deſign is not to enter into the detail of all that paſſed at the attack of this advanced work, which covered the town of Damiata: I ſhall only obſerve, after Matthew Paris, that the knights of St. John on this occaſion ſupported their ordinary reputation. Theſe warlike friars, tying two ſhips together to make them ſteddier, advance boldly to the wall, clap ladders to it, mount through the midſt of the fire works, javelins and ſtones, and without being daunted at the fall of their companions, puſh on to gain the top of the rampart. But the maſt of one of the ſhips failing, the ladders broke, and moſt of the knights falling into the water, being encumber'd with the weight of their armour, were drowned[a]. The loſs of theſe brave ſoldiers did not cool the courage of their companions of the order and the cruſade; they renewed the ſcalado ſeveral times, but ſtill without ſucceſs, till the Germans at laſt clapping a new invented machine to the walls, made themſelves by that means maſters of the tower; the taking of which opened a way for attacking the place. 1218.

THE ſultan foreſeeing that the loſs of this advanced work would draw after it that of Damiata, is ſaid to have died of grief. The Latin hiſtorians call this ſultan by the name of Safadine; but the Arabians give him that of Melic-el-adel-Aboubeker ſon of Job: he had fifteen ſons, and ſome time before his death had

[a] Hoſpitalariorum, proh dolor! ſcala confracta, ſimili modo cum malo cecidit, et milites ſtrenuos, et alios armatos, Nilum demerſit. Matt. Paris, ad an. 1218. t. 2. p. 301.

divided his dominions between the ſix eldeſt. Melic-el-Camel, the eldeſt of all, had Egypt, and Coradine Syria: Haran, a town of Meſopotamia, was Achrof's ſhare, and Boſtra in Arabia, that of Salech Iſmael; the two next had likeways ſome towns for their portion. The nine others continued in theſe territories, under the power of their elder brothers; and, to provide for their ſubſiſtence, Safadinè ſettled two of them in Jeruſalem, where they enjoyed the tribute that the weſtern Chriſtians paid at the gates of the city; two others diſcharged the ſame office at Mecca, and enjoyed likeways the revenues ariſing from the offerings of the Mahometan pilgrims, who flocked thither in great numbers from Aſia and Africa; and as for the five laſt, they had in all probability ſome penſions aſſigned them ſuitable to their birth and rank in the ſtate.

THE Chriſtians in the mean while continued the ſiege of Damiata with great vigour, and received about that time new ſuccours from the weſt. A cruſade compoſed of Italians, French, Germans and Engliſh, arrived in Egypt, and joined the camp. The pope had put cardinal d'Albano at the head of this army, as legate of the holy ſee, a prelate proud and haughty, ſelf-conceited, and one who would always have his own opinion carry it in the council of war, before even the ſentiments of the king and his generals, as if the pope, with the bulls of his legation, had given a cardinal the talents neceſſary to form a great captain. The ſultan of Egypt on the other hand called in his brother the ſultan of Syria to his ſuccour, a prince that loved war, and managed it with ſucceſs, but cruel, bloody, and the only one of all the children of Safadine that reſembled him moſt, as well in his vices as his valour.

THE young ſultan, beſides the army which he commanded in perſon, made likeways new levies, and before he ſet out for Egypt, demoliſhed the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and leveled the walls, deſigned thereby either to ſtrengthen his army with the garriſon

riſon of the place, or to prevent the Chriſtians, who he apprehended, if they took Damiata, would return into Paleſtine, and fortify themſelves in the capital, which was the great aim of all their enterprizes.

THIS prince in a march of twenty days croſſed the deſerts which divide that kingdom from Egypt, and joined ſultan Camel his eldeſt brother, who was advanced to meet him. After this junction they drew near the Chriſtian camp, in order to force them to raiſe the ſiege. The beſieged were every day making ſallies with all their forces, and the beſiegers were at the ſame time obliged to ſuſtain the attacks of the two ſultans, who tried all manner of ways to throw ſuccours into the place.

THE Engliſh hiſtorian, whom I cited above, tells us, that the three military orders * were in a manner the only perſons who were able to make head on all ſides againſt the enemy, and were, as he ſays, like a wall of braſs, to ſhield the reſt of the ſoldiery on all occaſions; that the hoſpitallers in particular, behaved always with extraordinary valour; that in the laſt ſally before the place was taken, the marſhal of the order was killed at the head of his company; that many of the knights had the ſame fate, and that ſome were taken priſoners.

THE ſultan ſeeing with pain, that he could not carry his point, and cauſe the ſiege to be raiſed, for the obtaining a peace, and to ſave Damiata, the key of his kingdom, he offered the Chriſtians to reſtore them the true croſs that was taken at the battle of Tiberias, to deliver up the city of Jeruſalem, and even advance the money neceſſary to rebuild the walls, and repair the fortifications. He offered too the caſtle of Thoron, and ſome other places, but inſiſted on keeping Carac

* Rex verò Jeruſalem, cum templariis, et domo Teutonicorum, et hoſpitalis ſancti Johannis, impetum paganorum ſuſtinuerunt, et pro muro fuerunt fugientibus, quoties illas ſuas facies oſtendebant. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. ad ag. 1219.

Templarii triginta tres capti ſunt, vel interfecti, cum mareſchallo hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis, et fratribus quibuſdam ejuſdem domûs. Idem. tom. p. 2. 306.

and Montreal, two fortreſſes ſituated on the edge of Arabia, from whence the Chriſtian garriſons in their excurſions had often carried off the caravans that were going out of devotion to Mecca; and this prince, who was religious in his way, according to the principles of his ſect, choſe rather to ſubject himſelf to an annual tribute, than reſtore two places, the ſoldiers of which might diſturb the Mahometans in the excerciſe of that part of their religion.

FROM the little we know of the character and manners of theſe different nations it is plain, that we can't conſider theſe wars, which laſted ſo long, under any other notion than as religious wars, and this in regard of the infidels as well as the Chriſtians, both making it a part of their worſhip, to viſit at leaſt once in their life, the tomb of the author of their religion. The popes and caliphs equally annexed ſpiritual recompences to thoſe pious voyages; and if there came ſhoals of Chriſtian pilgrims from the weſt to Jeruſalem, Mecca drew at leaſt as many Muſulmen from Aſia and Africa, error cloaking itſelf with the ſame motives as truth.

THIS was the reaſon which induced the ſultan to keep the caſtles of Carac and Montreal: ſaving
1219. this article, that prince wiſhed with paſſion to ſee the ſiege of Damiata raiſed. The king of Jeruſalem for his part was of opinion to accept of conditions that anſwered all the wiſhes and deſires of the cruſade; but the legate, who aſſumed an unlimited authority in the army, maintained, that the ſultan's propoſals ought to be rejected, and that the critical moment was come for making an entire conqueſt of Egypt, the fate of which would determine that of the king of Jeruſalem. The imperious legate's ſentiment prevailed in the council of war over that of the king of Jeruſalem, who vexed to find that he was not maſter of his own troops, under pretence of fetching new reinforcements, retired to St. John d'Acre. The ſucceſs nevertheleſs ſeemed at firſt to juſtify the legate's advice; Damiata was carried in an attack made by night,

night, or rather was taken for want of men to defend it; the inhabitants and ſoldiers being all deſtroyed, either in engagements, or by famine and want of proviſions, above fourſcore thouſand men having died in the place during the ſiege. The Chriſtians entering the town found every where a diſmal ſolitude, and the few inhabitants they met with in ſome houſes had ſtaid there only becauſe they were ſo weak, that they had not ſtrength to get out of doors. Cardinal James de Vitri, who was at this ſiege, bought a good number of ſucking children, deſigning to have them baptized; but above five hundred of them, he ſays, died ſoon after, in all probability of the famine which they and their mothers had ſuffered.

THE legate, proud of this good ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the army, made them advance into the heart of Egypt, contrary to the advice of all the chiefs, and engaged between the branches of the Nile. The ſultan opening the ſluices, and cutting the banks of the river, it overflowed the place where the Chriſtians were encamped: they then found themſelves ſhut up in an iſland, with as little ability to ſubſiſt there as to get out of it; this firſt misfortune was ſoon ſucceeded by a famine; and the army being ready to ſtarve, was forced to make a truce of eight days with the infidels. To get bread to eat, and liberty to retire, they were obliged to quit Damiata, and deliver up all the ſlaves and priſoners that were at Acre and Tyre. The Sarazens on their part engaged to reſtore the true croſs, and all the captives they had at Babylon in Egypt, or Grand Cairo and Damaſcus, to conduct the army to a place of ſafety, and ſupply them with proviſions in their retreat. Every thing was executed punctually on both ſides, except the reſtitution of the true croſs, which the infidels in all probability had loſt. The Chriſtian army diſperſed after this accident, and the legate's preſumption hindered the king of Jeruſalem from recovering his kingdom. 1220.

YET

YET as in public misfortunes every one labours to vindicate himself at the expence of others, the private enemies of the knights of St. John and the templars, accused them to pope Honorius III. of having diverted to their own profit the vast sums that were remitted out of Europe into Palestine, for the expences of the crusade, and the subsistence of the army. This calumny having spread thro' most countries of Christendom, the pope thought himself obliged to examine into it, and wrote upon that occasion to the legate, the patriarch, and chief leaders of the army. Public and private informations were given in, but they ended only in the confusion of the slanderers. The legate, the patriarch, and the principal officers of the army, wrote back to the sovereign pontiff, that they heard with grief the abominable calumny with which some had endeavoured to blacken the reputation of the military orders; that they themselves were witnesses to the contrary; and that these generous knights had spent the revenues of the two houses, and exhausted their substance to supply the expence of the siege; that the order of St. John alone had advanced above eight thousand byzantines; that they had lost abundance of their knights, and that pursuant to the spirit of their institution, they had prodigally thrown away their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Christians. The pope being acquainted with the truth of the matter, to do the knights the justice that was owing to them, ordered the legate himself to proclaim their innocence in his name: and this pontiff wrote at the same time to the bishops of France, England and Sicily, to take care in their several dioceses to extinguish so black a calumny. "We will, and require "you, adds the pope[a], to honour, love and cherish "them, as the noblest defenders of christianity."

THERE

[a] Volumus et præcipimus, ut eos tanquam veros Christi athletas et præcipuos Christianæ fidei defensores studeatis honorare, diligere ac fovere, eorum super hoc declarantes innocentiam, et fidei virtutes constantiam prædicantes. *In archivo Vaticano, ex registro Honorii III. tom. 2. fol. 30.*

THERE could be no ſurer proof given at that time of the purity of a perſon's faith, and his adherence to the holy ſee, than by taking the habit of one of the military orders; ſeveral princes themſelves, and many of the greateſt lords would die, and be buried with the croſs. 'Twas with this view that Raimond count of Tholouſe and marqueſs of Provence took the habit. 'Tis well known, that this prince, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful feodatories of the crown of France, was ſuſpected of having cauſed a legate of the pope's to be diſpatched, and of favouring the Albigenſes, and on that account was joined in an excommunication pronounced againſt theſe heretics his ſubjects, and in conſequence thereof, deprived of the greateſt part of his dominions. There was nothing of ſo mortifying and humbling a nature in canonical penances but he ſubmitted to it, in order to get free from that fatal cenſure; but thoſe who had ſhared in the ſpoil, kept the doors of the church always ſhut againſt him, for fear of opening him a door into his dominions. They would willingly have owned him as a catholic, if he could have been brought to renounce the county of Thouloufe. In fine, that prince, who had ſo much reaſon to preſerve the dominions which he derived from his anceſtors for young Raimond his ſon, thought he ſhould find better acceſs, and leſs difficulty with the pope, than with his legates and miniſters, and reſolved to go to Rome. As ſoon as he arrived there, he demanded an audience of the pope, which was eaſily granted. The pope conſidering the birth, the dignity and age of that prince, received him in full conſiſtory. Raimond, after mentioning the greatneſs of his anceſtors, their virtues, and the purity of their religion, made a confeſſion of his faith, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, to vouch the truth of his diſcourſe, he proteſted by all that is dear to a Chriſtian, that he had never departed from the principles of the faith, nor from the ſubmiſſion he owed to the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. He inſiſted next on the ſhameful penance which the legates had impoſed upon him, and

which

which he had gone through in the town of St. Giles, where he was dragged in ſight of his ſubjects, with a halter about his neck, and laſhed in the moſt ignominious manner. He denied abſolutely the murder of the legate that had been the cauſe of it; and concluded with complaining of Simon de Montſerrat, general of the league againſt the Albigenſes, who under the veil of religion fought only to raiſe himſelf a great eſtate and poſſeſſions in Languedoc.

IT is ſaid, that the pope could not refrain from tears at the relation of this prince's misfortunes, and that he wrote likeways to the legates in his favour: but whether they were perſuaded that Raimond was an heretic in his heart, or whether they only pretended it, to perpetuate an inquiſition, the whole authority of which was veſted in them, they paid little regard to the pope's orders. This prince, to undeceive the public at leaſt, ſome time after his return from Italy, declared by a public and authentic deed, that he obliged himſelf to take the habit and croſs of the hoſpitallers, and that in caſe he was prevented by death, his intention was, that they ſhould bury him in the church of the hoſpitallers at Tholouſe: there was not in that age a more authentic mark of perfect catholicism.

HIS hiſtorian relates, that from that time this prince, in imitation of the hoſpitallers, fed a certain number of poor every day, and cauſed them to be cloathed annually. He was ſeen, ſays he, every morning at the church of Notre-Dame de la Daurade on his knees, and bare-headed, making long and fervent prayers; and in a word, practiſing all the exerciſes of a true hoſpitaller. 'Twas in this diſpoſition that he was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy. He ſent immediately for Jourdain abbot of St. Sernin, to reconcile him to the church, and give him the ſacraments, and at the ſame time the hoſpitallers of Tholouſe were made acquainted with the extremity the prince was reduced to. But when the abbot of St. Sernin arrived, he had loſt his ſpeech, yet he lifted up his eyes to heaven;

his

his hands were joined together, he gave all the ſigns of repentance that can be required of a good Chriſtian, and in his looks might be read the ſentiments of his heart. The hoſpitallers of St. John coming in haſte, threw over him a mantle of the order, which ſome were for pulling off, under pretence of the excommunication; but the count held it faſt with his hands, and devoutly kiſſing the croſs ſowed upon the mantle, he died preſently after; and the abbot of St. Sernin, frighted as he was with the thunder 1221. of the Vatican, with which that prince was ſtruck, could not help ſaying to the ſtanders by, "Pray "to God for him, I believe him ſaved." He pretended too to keep his body, becauſe he died in his pariſh; but the young prince would have his father's intentions obſerved. The hoſpitallers carried him into their houſe, which he had choſen for his burial. Yet by reaſon of the excommunication, they durſt not bury him in the church, but put him decently in a coffin, where his skull was found whole in 1630.

FRANCE in the year following loſt king Philip II. and the order of the hoſpitallers a generous benefactor. This prince falling ill, and find- 1222. ing himſelf in a weak condition, made his will July 14, and, among a great number of pious legacies, beqeathed one hundred thouſand livres to the king of Jeruſalem for the defence of the Holy Land, and the like ſum to the hoſpitallers of St. John and the templars[a]. Brother Guerin or Garin, firſt miniſter[b], who had ſuggeſted theſe holy legacies to the king, was named executor, together with Bartholomew de Roye chamberlain of France, and brother Aimer treaſurer of the temple. The queen, after the king her huſband's death, founded a priory at Corbeil for thirteen chaplains

[a] See le miroir Hiſtor. l. 13. c. 15. p. 160.

[b] Rex Philippus viam univerſæ carnis ingreditur, relinquens tria millia librarum Pariſienſium in ſubſidium Terræ Sanctæ, centum millia in manibus regis Joannis, et centum millia in manibus magiſtri hoſpitalis, et centum millia in manibus magiſtri templi. Sanut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 210.

chaplains of the order of the hoſpitallers, upon condition of ſaying there every day three maſſes, for the reſt of the ſoul of that great prince. The foundation was approved by the grand maſter de Montaigu, and by the council of the order, and confirmed by the bull of pope Honorius III.

In the mean time, as the affair of the Holy Land was at that time the common affair of all
1223. Chriſtendom, a famous aſſembly was held at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, to conſider of ſuccours to be ſent thither. Pope Honorius III. and the emperor Frederic II. came to Ferentino, the one from Rome, and the other from his kingdom of Sicily; and from beyond ſea arrived John king of Jeruſalem, the patriarch of that city, the legate Pelagius, the biſhop of Bethlehem, Guerin de Montaigu grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, a commander of the templars, and Herman de Saltza, fourth maſter of the Teutonic or German knights. The pope preſſed the emperor to perform the promiſe he made when he put on the croſs, of leading in perſon a powerful ſuccour to the Holy Land: and to engage him in the affair, the empreſs Conſtantia his wife being dead, Herman de Saltza propoſed a match between him and the princeſs Yolante, only daughter and heireſs of the king of Jeruſalem. The maſter of the Teutonics managed this negociation ſo skilfully, that the marriage was agreed on, and the emperor promiſed with an oath to go into Paleſtine, in two years from the next midſummer. He afterwards married the princeſs, but contrary to his expreſs promiſe given to the king of Jeruſalem, of letting him enjoy that kingdom for his life, he obliged him, by a forced abdication, to reſign the crown. The pope was mediator of this great affair: it was the intereſt of theſe pontiffs to remove the ſovereigns of Europe, and eſpecially of Italy, as far from their countries as might be. The emperor's voyage and reſidence in Paleſtine rid him of the preſence of a mighty prince, who would abate nothing of his ſovereign authority; ſo finding

his

his own intereſt at Frederic's being at a diſtance, and, to make ſo harſh a proceeding appear leſs odious in the eyes of Brienne, he repreſented to him, that ſo potent a prince as Frederic would defend the Holy Land with more zeal and warmth, and that he would make much greater efforts if he fought for his own intereſts, than if he was only to defend a crown which he ſaw actually upon another's head, and the ſucceſſion whereof could not but appear to him at a great diſtance. John de Brienne gave his conſent to what he could not help.

THE pope did not fail to notify this new diſpoſition to moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe, that they might ſerve as witneſſes of the emperor's engagements. The late king of Jeruſalem, and the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, travelled afterwards over France, Spain, England and Germany, to obtain ſuccours. France immediately paid in all the money which Philip Auguſtus had left by his will for ſo holy an expedition. Thibaud count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, who was joined by Peter de Dreux, formerly count of Bretagne, and ſeveral French lords, Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England, and a great number of Engliſh gentlemen, put on the croſs; but they ſet out for the Holy Land moſt of them at different times. The emperor had ſent his lieutenants before with a good body of troops, till, as he ſaid, he could go thither in perſon: But as Paleſtine was then deſtitute of the preſence of its king, and without any chief or ſufficient authority, moſt of theſe ſuccours became unſerviceable through the different views of the commanders. There was no regular deſign formed and purſued; one made a truce with the infidels, and another broke it, without conſidering the injury that ſuch a conduct muſt do to the affairs and reputation of the Chriſtians. The military orders too were ſtill divided; every one's aim was ſolely for himſelf; and when the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers returned to St. John d'Acre, he found Paleſtine in a manner without any government, and deſtitute of

that bond so necessary in civil society, and which makes all the members join together, to promote the common good of the state.

THE count of Tripoli, a fierce and enterprizing prince, had taken the advantage of his absence to seize several castles, which either belonged to the order, or were in their custody. He seized likeways a house of theirs at Tripoli, where he caused one of the knights to be flayed alive, and another that opposed these violences to be stabbed[a]. The grand master, at his return, demanded satisfaction for these cruelties; but not obtaining it, he wrote to the pope, who used his good offices and remonstrances with the count, but in vain. The sovereign pontiff was obliged at last to excommunicate him; but neither was this sufficient to bring him to a compliance. Then the grand master, with the pope's leave, entering the count's territories at the head of the hospitallers, the sight of those troops made more impression on that cruel and savage prince than all the thunders of the Vatican. Raimond made the order a reasonable satisfaction for the injuries he had done them, and restored all that he had usurped. The grand master, at the pope's instance, threw likeways part of his troops into Cyprus, on pretence that the coasts of that island were frequently infested by Corsairs: but the true reason was, to hinder at the same time Raimond prince of Antioch, who had married queen Alice, widow of king Hugh, from seizing on that kingdom, to the prejudice of Henry, who was still a minor[b].

THE emperor being employed in Lombardy against the rebel towns, which had entered into a league
1225. to throw off his authority, desired the pope to dispense with his voyage to the Holy Land for two years longer. The sovereign pontiff granted his requeſt,

[a] Domum ipsam quam ipsi habent apud Tripolim capiens violenter, rabie concitatus diabolica, unum ex ipsis excoriari, et alium, ut dicitur, occidi fecit, præter id quod quibusdam eorum crudeliter, et honestè tractatis damna eis gravia et injurias irrogavit. Rainaldi, tom. 13. 1226. num. 55. 56. 57. p. 639 et 639.

[b] Sanut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 221.

requeſt, upon the following conditions: that at the term of two years, ending in Auguſt, he ſhould go over in perſon within that time; that for the two years following he ſhould maintain two thouſand knights there; that at three different times he ſhould defray the paſſage of two thouſand other knights, with their equipages, at three horſes a knight; that he ſhould keep fifty gallies well mann'd in the port of St. John d'Acre; that he ſhould depoſite an hundred thouſand ounces of gold for the expence of this armament, in the hands of John de Brienne the patriarch, and the maſter of the Teutonic order; and in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to take him out of the world, before he could paſs into the Holy Land, or his voyage ſhould be deferred, that then this great ſum ſhould be diſpoſed of according to the advice of the grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars; all which conditions the emperor ſubmitted to, as appears from that prince's diploma recited by Rainaldi*.

FREDERIC, having obtained the time he moved for, employed it honourably in making preparations ſuitable to ſo great an enterprize. An hundred gallies and fifty ſhips were fitted out by his orders, in the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and ſeveral German princes, with an infinite number of the cruſade, repaired to Brundufium. In the middle of Auguſt, A. D. 1227, that is, within the term he had ſtipulated with the pope, the emperor himſelf embarked with a fleet that carried near forty thouſand men: but after three days ſail he fell ſick, as did alſo ſeveral princes and lords of his court, and among the reſt, the landgrave of Heſſe. The landgrave's illneſs growing dangerous, the phyſicians were of opinion, that

* Et ſi nos, quod Deus avertat, in terra illa vel citrà, ante paſſagium memoratum obire contigerit, vel aliàs quacunque de cauſa ſolitan non tranſierimus, rex et patriarcha, et magiſter domûs Teutonicorum, ad laudem et conſilium magiſtrorum hoſpitalis et templi, ac aliorum proborum hominum de terra expendent eandem pecuniam bona fide ſicut melius viderint expedire utilitati Terræ Sanctæ. Rain. tom. 13. ad. ann. 1225. num. 4. p. 347.

the land air would be of more benefit to him than all the remedies of their art; they thereupon put into the port of Tarento, where the landgrave died, leaving his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, in a ſtate of widowhood, a princeſs not above twenty years of age, and of great virtue. The emperor eſcaped with only ſome fits of an ague; but pope Gregory IX. (who had juſt ſucceeded Honorius III.) a pontiff that treated ſovereigns with a high hand, being perſuaded, notwithſtanding the landgrave's death, that the emperor's illneſs was a mere pretence, excommunicated him publicly in the great church of Anagni, where he then was. The ſovereign pontiff uſhered in this ſolemn ceremony with a ſermon, in which he took for his text theſe words of the goſpel, "It muſt needs be that offences come;" and enlarging much upon St. Michael's victory over the dragon, he fell abruptly upon the excommunication, which he was going to thunder out againſt the emperor. I give this ſhort taſte of the pope's ſtyle, becauſe the ſtyle oftentimes ſhews the genius and character of the age. Gregory wrote afterwards circular letters to all the biſhops, to acquaint them with the ſeverity he thought himſelf obliged to uſe with regard to that prince; he had fixed, ſays the pope in that letter, the month of Auguſt, A. D. 1227. for the laſt moment of his departure; and yet he was ſcarce at ſea a few days before, under pretence of ſickneſs, he landed again, and returned to enjoy a lazy life as uſual. The pontiff, writing in particular to the biſhops of Apulia, ſays, "Since the emperor Frederic neglected his own "ſalvation, and deferred performing the vow he had "made of going to the Holy Land, we have drawn "againſt him the medicinal ſword of St. Peter, pub-"liſhing, out of our great tenderneſs for him, the ſen-"tence of excommunication againſt him."

THE emperor, ſurprized and provoked at the pope's conduct, ſent on his part a public letter, by
1228. way of manifeſto, to all the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, wherein, after appealing to God for the reality of the ſickneſs, which had forced him to

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put aſhore, he complains, in very bitter terms, of the pope's precipitation, and declared, that he would put to ſea again as ſoon as he had recovered his health. In the letter that he wrote in particular to the king of England, which Matthew Paris has tranſmitted down to us, he runs out into invectives againſt the court of Rome: "The Romans, ſays he, are inflamed with "ſuch a paſſion for ſcraping money together out of "all the countries of Chriſtendom, that after drain- "ing the revenues of particular churches, they are "not aſhamed to rob even ſovereign princes, and en- "deavour to make crowned heads their tributaries. "You have yourſelf, ſays he to the king of England, "had a very ſenſible proof of this, in the perſon of "king John your father. You have that of the count "of Tholouſe, and of ſo many other princes, whoſe "dominions they have laid under interdicts, which "they would never take off till they had put on their "chains, and ſubmitted to be ſlaves. What may not "be ſaid of the unheard-of exactions which they im- "poſe upon the clergy, and the open or palliated uſu- "ries with which they infect the whole Chriſtian "world? And yet, in ſpite of theſe notorious rob- "beries, theſe blood-ſuckers would palm the court of "Rome upon us for the church our mother. The "ſprit and conduct of both ſhew us plainly the dif- "ference between them. The court of Rome ſends its "legates into all quarters, with power to puniſh, ſuſ- "pend and excommunicate; whereas the true church, "actuated by a ſpirit of charity, ſends other miniſters "only to propagate the word of God; the one aims "at nothing but amaſſing wealth, and gathering where "ſhe has not ſowed, but the other has depoſited her "treaſures in holy monaſteries, to provide for the "poor and pilgrims; and yet theſe Romans, unwor- "thy of that honourable name, without either "courage or nobility, ſwelled with a vain opinion of "their learning, would fain ſet themſelves up above "kings and emperors. In a word, adds that prince, "the church was founded upon poverty and ſimpli-

" city, and no body can lay any other foundation
" than that which was laid by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf,
" who is the corner ſtone, as well as architect there-
" of*."

THOUGH there is no excuſing the rough language that runs throughout this letter, yet it is certain, that the popes often made uſe of this pretext of the cruſades, to keep princes and their ſubjects in a dependence on the court of Rome: nor is it leſs true, that moſt ſovereigns, on the other hand, were not ſorry to ſee the dukes, counts, and other great vaſſals of their crowns, go abroad on theſe remote expeditions, and, by their abſence, which was often followed by their death, leave them a more abſolute authority in their dominons. Thus did intereſt and ambition make their advantage of a pious inſtitution, which was originally deſigned only to deliver the churches of the eaſt from the tyranny of the infidels.

IN the mean time the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, and moſt of the prelates of Paleſtine, wrote to the pope, acquainting him with the miſerable and calamitous ſtate to which they were reduced, by the emperor's not arriving in Auguſt. The militia of the cruſade, ſay they, which were come into Syria, to the number of near forty thouſand men, are gone back into the weſt, on board the ſame ſhips that brought them: there are only about eight hundred knights that ſtay behind, and theſe all demand leave to return, or inſiſt that we break the truce. A council was held upon this occaſion; and the duke of Limburg, who commands here for the emperor, was of opinion to begin the war again; but it was argued, that this would be a dangerous undertaking, with forces ſo much inferior to thoſe of the Sarazens; and that withal it was not very honourable to break a treaty which had been confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths. Thoſe of

* Sed aliud fundamentum nemo poteſt ponere, præter illud quod poſitum eſt à Domino Jeſu, ac ſtabilitum. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. A. D. 1228. p. 347. et 348

of the council, who were of the duke's ſentiments, replied, that the pope having in general excommunicated all ſuch of the cruſade as did not actually repair to the Holy Land, though he knew very well, that the truce was to laſt two years longer, it was plain, that the viſible head of the church did not expect that they ſhould keep it. Hereupon they have reſolved to march to Jeruſalem; and in order to come the eaſier at it, and to facilitate the conqueſt of that capital, they have determined to ſecure Ceſarea and Jaffa, the fortifications of which were afterwards to be rebuilt.

THE letter ended with very preſſing inſtances for new ſuccours. The pope inſerted a copy of it in one of his letters, which he addreſſed to all the Chriſtian world, bearing date December 23d, 1227; from whence it is no difficult matter to conclude, that it was his intention they ſhould break the truce that had been made with the infidels.

IN the mean time, he continued thundering againſt the emperor with more animoſity than zeal; he even excommunicated him afreſh upon Maundy Thurſday: but the Roman barons, and all the people, ſcandalized at the pope's paſſion, and to ſee him treat a Chriſtian emperor, and king of the Romans, in ſo ſhameful a manner, took up arms in his favour. 1228. March 23.

THE pontiff, who ſaw with pain, that he was not maſter in the capital of the Chriſtian world, retired to Perugia with all his court. The emperor was not ſatisfied with only driving him out of Rome. That prince, cruel and revengeful in his nature, uſed great ſeverities towards all whom he thought attached to the pope. The hoſpitallers and templars, devoted to the intereſts of the holy ſee, ſuffered cruel perſecutions from the emperor's officers in the dominions that he poſſeſſed in Italy [a]; they turned theſe knights, under various

[a] Tum etiam qu'a templarios et hoſpitalarios bonis mobilibus, et immobilibus quæ habebant in regno, teme re ſpolibant Rain. ad. ann. 12.8.

various pretences, out of the lands which they poſſeſſed, took all from them, even to their very ſlaves, and plundered their houſes. The emperor did not ſtop here; but, to make the pope feel the weight of his reſentment, he ſent troops into his territories, who ravaged Marca d'Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as if he had a mind to inſult the power of the keys, he made uſe, in this expedition, of Sarazen ſoldiers his ſubjects in Sicily, that their incredulity might make them proof againſt excommunication.

THIS we learn from a letter of the pope's directed to the biſhops of Apulia: "That we might not ſeem, "ſays the pontiff, to compliment men to the preju- "dice of the church's intereſt, we have publicly ex- "communicated the emperor Frederic for not going "to the Holy Land, or ſupplying the money and "troops he had promiſed, and for ſtripping the hoſ- "pitallers and templars of their poſſeſſions in the "kingdom of Sicily. We followed this excommuni- "cation with a general interdict upon all churches, "where he ſhall offer to aſſiſt at divine ſervice; and "if, notwithſtanding our juſt inhibition, he does aſ- "ſiſt there, we ſhall proceed anew againſt him as "againſt a declared heretic. In fine, if he conti- "nues to deſpiſe the cenſures of the church, we ſhall "abſolve all thoſe that have ſworn fidelity to him of "their oath, particularly his ſubjects in Sicily, be- "cauſe, according to the ſentiments of pope Urban "II. we are not obliged to keep faith with thoſe that "oppoſe God and his ſaints, and deſpiſe their com- "mands." A maxim directly oppoſite to that of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaid, "That his kingdom was not "of this world, and that we muſt render to Ceſar the "things that be Ceſar's."

YET, whether the emperor feared the conſequences of theſe threats, or was apprehenſive that John de Brienne, who had made only a forced abdication of the crown of Jeruſalem, might get before him, and re-eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of Paleſtine, he reſolved at laſt to ſet out upon his voyage thither. But

before

before he embarked, to hinder the pope from taking any advantage of his abſence, he wrote him word, that he had left full powers with Rinaldo duke of Spoletto, to make an amicable determination of all differences between them. The pope was far from approving a voyage, that ſeemed to render the excommunication null; and therefore wrote back to him, that he expected he ſhould not croſs the ſea as one of the cruſade, till he was abſolved from the cenſures of the church. But the emperor, not regarding this prohibition, embarked at Brunduſium; and arrived happily in the port of St. John d'Acre, on September 8th, A. D. 1228.

THE patriarch with his clergy, the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars at the head of their knights, the magiſtrates, and all the nobility and gentry then in Acre, went to receive him at landing, with all the marks of reſpect due to his dignity. But orders coming afterwards from the pope to the patriarch, to denounce him publicly excommunicated, with an expreſs injunction to the military orders not to obey him [a], brother Guerin de Montaigu, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, and the grand maſter of the templars acting by concert, refuſed openly to join the army, if the emperor gave the word of command in it [b]. Though this prince had but eight hundred horſe, and ten thouſand foot, yet he took the field, and advanced towards Jaffa, the fortifications of which they had reſolved ſhould be rebuilt before they engaged in the ſiege of Jeruſalem. The emperor, beſides theſe troops, was likeways followed by the Teutonic knights, who, being his ſubjects, did not think themſelves obliged to pay any deference to the pope's orders. The hoſpitallers and templars, though they

[a] Prohibentur quoque hoſpitalarii, templarii et Alimanni illi attendere, vel in aliquo obedire. Idem lib. 3. part 11. c. 12. p. 213.

[b] Chron. de Nangis. ad. an. 1252. ex Spicil. tom. 11. p. 521.

they would not join the body of the army, followed at a distance, for fear the Christians should fall
1228. into some ambuscade of the Sarazens. The emperor being very sensible how necessary their succour was to him, thought it best to dissemble a little in such a juncture. He consented to a negotiation; and after several expedients had been proposed, it was agreed, that, without mentioning the emperor, the council of war should issue out orders in the name of God and Christendom[a]; and after this precaution, which the knights thought themselves obliged to take, upon account of the pope's orders, they joined the army which marched without opposition to Jaffa, and restored the fortifications of the place.

AFTER the emperor's departure, Rinaldo moved for an audience of the pope to treat of peace; but the pontiff refused to hear him: so Rinaldo continued to make war upon the pope's subjects, pillaging the open country, and taking towns; and it is reported, that in the heat of action, and the transport that attends the carrying of places sword in hand, some priests and clergymen were killed, others maimed, and several hanged.

"THE emperor, says the pope in one of his letters "written to cardinal Romanus, makes use of the Sara-"zens, his subjects, to destroy the houses of the hos-"pitallers and templars, who have hitherto preserved "what is left of the Holy Land with their blood[b]." He adds, that the templars having, upon a certain occasion, recovered, by force of arms, the effects belonging to them, which the Sarazens had carried off, a lieutenant of the emperor's came up, wrested them out of their

[a] Magistri hospitalis sancti Joannis et templi responderunt, quia summo pontifice, cui obedire volebant, erant prohibiti ei obsequi vel parere, nisi utilitate tamen terræ et populi christiani parati erant juxta alios pergere, dummodo pro ce ta vel bannis ex parte sua nullaterus proclamarentur Sanut. ibid.

[b] Christianis odium exhibet manifestum ad exterminandas domus hospitalis et fratrum militiæ templi, per quas reliquiæ Terræ sanctæ hactenus sunt observatæ. Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1228. p. 348. et 349.

their hands by main force, and gave them back to the infidels: "For, continues the pope, thoſe knights, ſo "brave in their perſons, and ſo terrible to the Sara-"zens, profeſs by their inſtitution, never to draw "their ſwords againſt Chriſtians[a]. This lieutenant "moreover turned them out of their houſes, and "took from them an hundred infidel ſlaves, which the "the two orders had in the convents of the two Sici-"lies: it looks as if his deſign was to deſtroy the "two orders, or at leaſt to reduce them to depend "for the future entirely upon the emperor."

The pope, to oppoſe ſomething more terrible to the emperor than excommunications and manifeſto's, levied two armies, putting at the head of the firſt John de Brienne, whom the emperor had forced to abdicate the crown of Jeruſalem; the counts of Celano and Roger d'Aquila, ſubjects of Frederic, but rebels againſt him, and protected by the pope, commanded the other; and in this war the leaders of both parties committed unſpeakable cruelties, as if the popes ſoldiers were afraid of being out-done in inhumanity by the Sarazens in the emperor's army.

THOMAS Daquin, one of the emperor's lieutenants, did not fail to give him advice of it. "The "pope's troops, ſays he in his letter,[b] burn 1229. "villages, carry off the cattle, impriſon the "inhabitants, and oblige them, by force of torments, "to ranſom themſelves. There is no ſort of cruelty "but they exerciſe it on your ſubjects, without con-"ſidering that they commit all theſe violences in the "territories of a Chriſtian emperor, who is actually "in arms for the defence of the Holy Land. All the "clergy of the empire cry out, and demand with what "conſcience the common father of Chriſtians can "make war on the firſt prince in Chriſtendom; and "whether he has forgot that when St. Peter was draw-"ing his ſword, our Lord ordered him to put it up in "the ſcabbard, ſaying, whoever ſmiteth with the "ſword,

[a] Ipſis non audentibus, juxta ordinis ſui inſtituta, manum armatam cont a Chriſtianos erigere. Matt. Paris, p. ibid.

[b] Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 353.

" ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword. They are aſtoniſh-
" ed too, how a perſon, that excommunicates robbers
" and incendiaries every day, can now thunder out
" the cenſures of the church againſt the king of the
" Romans. Take proper meaſures, ſir, for the ſecuri-
" ty of your people, and withal of your own perſon;
" for John de Brienne, who refuſes you the auguſt
" title of emperor, has ſhips in readineſs, in moſt of
" the ports of Italy, to ſurprize you in your return."

THE emperor had advice afterwards, by other letters, that the pope's generals, after driving the Imperialiſts out of Marca d'Ancona, had forced them to retire into the kingdom of Naples; that they had ſeized St. Germans, and moſt of the other towns in that kingdom, as far as Capua. That the pontiff's emiſſaries had prevailed with ſeveral towns [a] in Lombardy to take up arms in his favour; that this new alliance made war upon ſuch other places as ſtill preſerved their allegiance to the empire, and that the pope had ſent a legate in their army, who directed all the ſteps of it. This was the ſource of the two factions ſo remarkable in hiſtory by the name of Guelphs and Gibbelins; the firſt of which declared for the popes, and the other ranged themſelves under the banner of the empire.

FREDERIC, enraged at this news, and regarding the pope no longer under any other notion than that of his mortal enemy, reſolved to return in all haſte for Italy, to defend his own dominions. But that he might quit Paleſtine with ſome ſhew of honour, he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that his perſon was not ſafe, and that the hoſpitallers and templars, at the pope's inſtigation, were endeavouring to deliver him up to the Sarazens. This Matthew Paris, a contemporary hiſtorian, relates, with more particular circumſtances, and ſays, that [b] the inhabitants of the Holy Land, and eſpecially the templars and hoſpitallers, inſtigated

[a] Milan, Verona, Piacenza, Vercelli, Lodi, Alexandria, Treviſo, Padua, Vicenza, Turin Novara, Mantua, Breſcia, Bologna et Faenza.

[b] Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 358.

inſtigated by the devil and the father of diſcord, and urged by the revengeful ſpirit of the pope, gave ſecret advice to the ſultan of Egypt, that the emperor was to go, out of devotion, to bathe in the river Jordan, and that he would perform the journey on foot, and with a ſmall retinue, ſo that he might eaſily diſpatch him, or at leaſt ſeize his perſon: That the ſultan, upon receipt of this letter, the ſeal of which he knew, conceived an utter abhorrence of the perfidiouſneſs of theſe knights, and that, far from making any uſe of it, that prince generouſly ſent the letter to the emperor, who had already received ſeveral intimations of this traiterous deſign; that his Imperial majeſty diſſembled his knowledge of it, till a proper time came to revenge the injury; and that this was the true reaſon of the hatred he ſhewed afterwards to theſe two military orders. It muſt nevertheleſs be owned *, adds Matthew Paris, that the templars were more blamed for this piece of treachery than the knights of St. John.

HOWEVER that be, as the emperor wanted only a pretext of quitting the Holy Land without diſhonour to himſelf, he entered privately into a negotiation with the ſultan of Egypt for a truce; which was concluded for ten years. He publiſhed afterwards the conditions of it, which conſiſted chiefly, as he ſaid, in the reſtitution of Jeruſalem, which the ſultan gave up to the emperor, with the cities Bethlehem, Nazareth, Thoron and Sidon; allowing him likeways the liberty of repairing the fortifications of theſe places, and of rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem; which city was left entirely to his diſpoſal, except the temple, which, with the court and incloſure about it, was to remain in the hands of the infidels, with the privilege of the free exerciſe of their religion in it.

THIS treaty being executed, a great number of Chriſtian families, upon the emperor's word, returned to Jeruſalem. Some monks, and even nuns, drawn by the holineſs of the place, took poſſeſſion again of

* Veruntamen hoſpitalarii minorem notam infamiæ ſuper hoc facto contraxerunt. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 357.

their convents, and began to repair them[a]. But it was not long before they discovered the illusion of the treaty which had nothing real in it but a design of amusing the Christians of the east, and imposing on those of the west[b]. For the emperor, instead of raising again the fortifications of the towns, which he pretended were yeilded to him, though this was necessary to secure the possession of them to the Latin Christians, rejected with contempt the offers made him by the hospitallers and templars, of contributing to put those places in a condition of defence: So they continued still dismantled, and consequently in the power of the infidels, who were then masters of the field, with forces infinitely superior to those of the Christians; and the emperor having acted, as we may say, this comedy in the east, embarked in the month of May, and arrived happily in his kingdom of Sicily.

1229.

THE war resumed a new vigour from the emperor's presence. That prince, who was a great soldier, carried it on with better success than the pope's generals; he drove them out of most of the places they had seized in his absence. John de Brienne likeways quitted the command of the army of the holy see, and returned into France to prepare for his voyage to Constantinople, whither he had been invited after Robert de Courtenay's death, to take care of the empire. The pope, despairing to get the bettter of his enemy by temporal arms, had recourse to spiritual ones, which he managed with much better success; and, after renewing the excommunication against the emperor, he added this clause to it: "And forasmuch as that prince, out of a "visible contempt of excommunication, has made no "step of submission to our orders, we declare all his "subjects absolved of their oath of fidelity to him." A terrible attempt, which authorized the revolt of all that

[a] Vide epist. Geroldi patriarc. Hier. idem ibid.

[b] Sibi fratribus templi et hospitalis præsentantibus solemniter et instanter, quod si vellet firmare, sicut promiserat, civitatem, ipsi ei quantum possunt consilium et auxilium ad conficiendum compararent. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 359.

that were malecontent. The emperor, in fact, was ſo terrified with it, that he uſed the intereſt of ſeveral cardinals, and divers prelates, whom he cauſed to come expreſs out of Germany, to bring the pope to a better temper. The negotiation laſted almoſt a year; and the vanquiſhed preſcribed terms to the victorious ſide. The emperor, before he could obtain peace, was obliged to ſwear that would ſubmit to the pope's orders, without any exception. He 1230 was abſolved upon this condition; and, among other articles, extorted from that prince, it was ſaid, that he ſhould, within the time preſcribed him by the church, repair all the damages he had done to the orders of the hoſpitallers and templars; that he ſhould pay the charge of the war, and reimburſe the holy father all the money he had been obliged to furniſh for the defence of the patrimony of St. Peter. [a]

THE emperor, to get rid of the excommunication, whereof he dreaded the conſequences, ſubſcribed to all theſe conditions, and executed them, particularly with regard to the hoſpitallers and templars. But that prince, retaining always a keen reſentment againſt thoſe two orders, had no ſooner received his abſolution, than, under one pretext or other, he began to perſecute them again. Henry de Maura, lord chief juſtice of the kingdom of Sicily, on both ſides the Faro di Meſſina, ſequeſtered all their effects and poſſeſſions; and, upon their complaints, the pope ſent a nuncio to Frederic, to demand ſatisfaction of him for thoſe violent proceedings [b]. "If 1231. "you really wiſh, as you are obliged to do, "ſays the pontiff to him in his brief, that the affairs "of the Holy Land may go on proſperouſly, far from "perſecuting the hoſpitallers and templars, you ought "to give your imperial protection to two orders, that, "with infinite trouble, and continual fatigues, and "in the midſt of a thouſand dangers, to which "they are daily expoſed, ſupport that tottering ſtate;

[a] Rain. ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 405. n. 9.
[b] Idem ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 413.

" and it is the moſt effectual means to render you " both acceptable in the ſight of God, and honour- " able in the eſteem of men :" And the pontiff concludes his letter with conjuring him, in the moſt preſſing terms, to reſtore the effects and poſſeſſions that had been ſo unjuſtly taken from the hoſpitallers of St. John, and the templars. Frederic received the nuncio well, and promiſed to have a great regard to the pope's recommendation; but inſtead of that, tho' he was only the ſubaltern ſovereign of the iſle, he renewed his perſecutions; and, to revenge himſelf on ſuch of his Sicilian ſubjects, as, during his excommunication, had declared in favour of the pope, the lord in whom the direct dominion was veſted, and ſupreme ſovereign of that kingdom, he obliged them to put on the croſs; and, by a ſort of baniſhment, which he cloaked with the pretence of religion, and that of ſuccouring the Holy Land, he ſent them away thither, without ever allowing them to come back, or return into their country, even after they had accompliſhed their pilgrimage.

THE order of St. John, ſuffering ſtill under the perſecution of that prince, loſt, this year, their 1230. grand maſter Guerin de Montaigu, a gentleman of noble extraction in the province of Auvergne, but who by his virtues added a greater luſtre to his family than he derived from it. The knights of St. John, aſſembling in chapter, choſe, BERTRAND DE TEXIS. in his ſtead, brother Bertrand de Texis, who, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, applied himſelf as cloſely to the affairs of the ſtate, as to the government of the order.

PALESTINE, which, from the time of John de Brienne's abdication, had been deprived of the preſence of its ſovereign, was, like a ſhip without a pilot, toſſed continually by new tempeſts, and muſt infallibly have periſhed, without the conſtant ſuccour of the hoſpitallers and templars. I ſay nothing of the Teutonic knights, becauſe ſince A. D. 1226, the greateſt part of them were gone into Pruſſia; the inhabitants of

which

which, being idolaters, had entered into a barbarous war againſt the Chriſtians their neighbours, maſſacred the prieſts at the foot of the altars, and put the ſacred veſſels to profane uſes. Conrad duke of Mazovia called in the Teutonic knights to his aſſiſtance, and, for a beginning of a ſettlement, gave them the whole territory of Culm, with all the lands they could conquer from the infidels. Herman de Salza,[a] maſter of the order, deputed one of his knights, named Conrad de Lansberg, to conclude this treaty, which was ſigned by three biſhops of the country, Gonther of Mazovia, Michael of Cujavia, and Chriſtian of Pruſſia. Hereupon the Teutonic knights went into thoſe northern provinces, where, in a continued ſeries of wars, they acquired ſucceſſively an entire ſovereignty to themſelves, the royal and ducal 1232. Pruſſia, Livonia and the dutchies of Courland, and Semigallen, all provinces of a vaſt extent, and ſufficient to form a great kingdom.

FROM what we have now ſaid it appears, that the defence of the Holy Land was left only in the hands of the hoſpitallers and templars. The emperor indeed, who was very ſenſible that that little ſtate could not ſupport itſelf, had, before his departure, promiſed the two grand maſters, and the principal lords of the country, that he would, at his return home, ſend a conſiderable body of troops thither, and maintain them at his own expence: He gave his word likeways to ſend thither prince Conrad his ſon, to whom the kingdom of Jeruſalem belonged in right of the empreſs Yolant his mother, daughter to John de Brienne, and the princeſs Mary. But that prince, being, at his return, taken up with the deſign of eſtabliſhing the imperial authority over all Italy, referred his whole force for the execution of that great poject, and ſeemed to have entirely forgot the intereſts of Paleſtine. The princeſs Alice, half ſiſter by the mother's ſide to queen Mary, being, as well as the latter, the iſſue of queen Iſabel of Jeruſalem, and at this time Widow of Hugh de

[a] Dusburg. chron. Pruſſ. part 2. c. 1. p. 28.

Luſignan king of Cyprus, paſſed into Syria, in hopes of making an advantage of the emperor's abſence at ſuch a diſtance, and demanded the crown of Jeruſalem [a]. But whatever ill treatment the two military orders had received from the emperor, the two grand maſters oppoſed the pretenſions of this princeſs, and told her, that nothing but prince Conrad's death or voluntary abdication, could give her any right to the crown. The emperor having advice of theſe notions, and fearing leſt the queen dowager of Cyprus ſhould at laſt gain over the two orders to her intereſts, ſent a body of German troops into Paleſtine, and put over them as his lieutenant Richard Fitz Auger marſhal of of his army. This general, landing at Acre, inſtead of mild and pacifying meaſures, and inſtead of endeavouring to render his Maſter's government and his own authority agreeable to the inhabitants
1232. of the town, and the lords of the country, treated them with exceſſive rigour, laid upon them impoſts unheard of before in Paleſtine, and taxed the richeſt citizens [b]. He deprived ſome of their eſtates, haraſſed others, and treated them all as he would have treated infidels in a conquered country. The inhabitants and principal nobility, after enduring, for four or five years together, all the oppreſſions that avarice, ſupported by abſolute power, could lay upon them, having loſt their patience as well as their effects, and, being left without any reſource but their courage, ran to arms, drove the Germans out of the town, and obliged them to take refuge in Tyre, the only place they had left, where John d'Hybelin, lord of Berytus, and Jaffa, at the head of the gentry, prepared to beſiege them.

THE emperor, ſurprized and alarmed at this news, had recourſe to the pope's authority, deſiring him to exert it in his favour, with the grand maſter de

[a] Sanut. l. 3. c. 13. p. 214.
[b] Idem, lib. 3. part. 11. c. 13. p. 214.

de Texis, and the knights of St. John: And to regain the eſteem and confidence of that order, which he had perſecuted ſo long, he put the 1238. knights again in poſſeſſion of all the effects and eſtates he had ſo unjuſtly taken from them.

THE pope, at this prince's inſtance, ſent the archbiſhop of Ravenna to the Holy Land, as legate of the holy ſee, and gave him very preſſing letters to the grand maſter and council of the order, wherein he exhorted them to uſe their prudence, and the authority they had in Paleſtine, to quiet theſe diſturbances. The grand maſter, upon receipt of the pope's brief, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for a reconciliation. By his own conduct, ſupported with the power of his order, he brought matters to bear, and re-eſtabliſhed the emperor's authority in St. John d'Acre, and the other towns of Paleſtine.

THE forces of the Latin Chriſtians being conſiderably weakened in the Holy Land, by a victory which the ſultan of Aleppo gained about that time over the templars, the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers ſent his ſummons, and drew a great number of knights from the weſt. There went, ſays Matthew Paris, from the hoſpitallers houſe of Clerkenwell in 1239. London, a great number of knights with banners diſplayed, preceded by brother Theodric their prior, a German by nation, who ſet out for the Holy Land, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops in their pay. Theſe knights, ſays he, paſſing over London bridge, ſaluted, with their capuce in hand, all the inhabitants that crowded to ſee them paſs, and recommended themſelves to their prayers[a].

WHILST the order was drawing out of England this ſuccour for the Holy Land, it furniſhed the Chriſtian kings of Spain, who were continually at war againſt the Moors of the country, with a much more conſiderable one. Don James, the firſt of the name, king of Arragon, having driven the Moors out of the iſles

[a] Fratres vero, inclinatis capitibus, hinc et inde capuciis depoſitis, ſe omnium precibus commendaru nt. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1237. p. 444.

iſles of Majorca and Minorca, undertook the conqueſt of the kingdom of Valencia. He fitted out a ſtrong fleet, and his land army conſiſted of above ſixty thouſand men. The power of the kings of Arragon never made ſo formidable an appearance before. This mighty force did not diſcourage Zael king of Valentia, the braveſt of all the princes of the Moors: but as he had not an army ſtrong enough to keep the field againſt that of Don James, he threw himſelf into his capital. The Chriſtians ſoon inveſted the place: He made a gallant defence; and, though beſieged both by ſea and land, the king of Arragon could not gain an inch of ground, but what coſt him the braveſt of his ſoldiers. The Moors made frequent ſallies, in which there was always much bloodſhed. The ſucceſs of the ſiege grew every day more and more doubtful: Don James, ſeeing his troops diminiſh, called in the hoſpitallers of St. John to his ſuccour. Brother Hugh de Forcalquier, caſtellan of Empoſta, and lieutenant to the grand maſter, arrived in the camp at the head of a conſiderable number of Spaniſh knights; and, to make this ſuccour the more ſerviceable, he had reinforced them with two thouſand foot levied, at his own expence, among the vaſſals of the order.

IT was no little ſatisfaction to the king to ſee him arrive ſo well attended. The ſiege ſoon put on a new face. A laudable emulation ran through the Chriſtian army. The knights diſtinguiſhed themſelves as uſual by their intrepidity, and carried ſeveral advanced works ſword in hand. Zael, ſtraitened by the loſs of theſe poſts, ſhut himſelf up in the heart of the town. He held out there for ſome time longer; but, preſſed at length by want of proviſions, and having loſt the choiceſt of his garriſon, he capitulated, and ſurrendered the place to the king of Arragon. The reſt of the kingdom followed the example of the capital; every thing fell before the power of the conqueror, and the crown of Valentia was united to that of Arragon. Don James publicly acknowledged, that he owed this important conqueſt to the valour of the hoſpitallers. He recompenſed

penſed them, like a liberal and generous prince, with the town of Cerviera, and all its dependencies, with Aſcola, Alcocever, and the plain of St. Matthew, all which he gave in abſolute property to the order.

BUT recompences of ſo conſiderable a value, and which ſerved as a teſtimony of their valour, excited afterwards the envy and indignation of the neighbouring biſhops; for the caſtellan of Emposta receiving orders from the grand maſter, whoſe lieutenant he was in Arragon, and in the principality of Catalonia, to make a detachment from thence of the ſervants and vaſſals of the order, for the peopling of thoſe towns, which were then full of infidel inhabitants; and this colony ſetting up the croſs, and refuſing, in virtue of their ancient privileges, to ſubmit to the payment of tythes, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to hear, that the biſhops, inſtead of lending their aſſiſtance for the converſion of the Moors that were left in thoſe places, had laid a general interdict upon all the country granted to the order by the king of Arragon.

IT was not without great indignation that the pope received the news of this invaſion of the privileges granted to that military order by ſo many of his predeceſſors. He immediately took off that unjuſt interdict; becauſe, according to the bulls of the ſovereign pontiffs, the order was ſubject to no juriſdiction but that of the holy ſee, and he made a decree, with ſevere penalties annexed to it, that no one for the future ſhould diſturb the ſubjects of an order, the members whereof employed their fortunes and lives only for the defence of Chriſtendom.

YET, in contempt of this ſolemn prohibition, the biſhop of St. John d'Acre began a freſh diſpute with the knights in the eaſt, upon the ſubject of the right of tythes, under pretence, that ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, and the ſettlement of the order in St. John d'Acre, they had acquired in that city, and in other parts of his dioceſe, ſeveral kinds of poſſeſſions, that did not belong to the order from the firſt times of its foundation.

on. This prelate kept his deſign and meaſures ſecret; and, under a quite different pretence, made a voyage and waited upon the pope. He repreſented to him, tha the hoſpitallers, by means either of their conqueſts or acquiſitions, ſwallowed up all the revenues of the biſhops. He received, at the ſame time, the bitter complaints that Foulcher, patriarch of Jeruſalem, had made to Adrian IV. on account of the interdicts and burials before mentioned; and he concluded with beſeeching his holineſs, to publiſh an explanation of his predeceſſor's bulls, agreeable to the rights of biſhops, and ſuch as might ſerve to limit the privileges of the knights.

THE pope referred the examination of theſe grievances to cardinal James de Pecoraria, to whom that pontiff had committed the affairs of Paleſtine. The biſhop of Acre laid before him a long memorial of theſe grievances, in which the order of St. John was treated with no great tenderneſs. The cardinal communicated it to brother Andrew de Foggia, who reſided then at the court of Rome, as procurator general of the hoſpitallers. That knight maintained the intereſts of his order with a proper zeal, and ſhewed plainly, that the biſhop of Acre, under pretence of new grievances, did nothing but revive the old pretenſions of the clergy of Paleſtine, that had been rejected in the aſſembly of Ferentino. The pope, upon the cardinal's report of the caſe, referred the judgment of it to the patriarch of Jeruſalem, the archbiſhop of Tyre, and the abbot of St. Samuel d'Acre. The biſhop could not have wiſhed for judges that were leſs exceptionable; yet theſe prelates, though intereſted in the affair, being withal juſtly ſenſible, that they ſubſiſted themſelves only by the ſuccour of theſe knights, obliged their collegue to deſiſt from his pretenſions.

I KNOW not whether it be to this prelate, or any other enemy of the order, that we are to aſcribe the account given the pope about this time, that the hoſpitallers gave themſelves up to ſhameful irregularities,

and

and that a Greek and ſchiſmatical prince, who was actually at war with the Latins, was aſſiſted by them with arms and horſes. Gregory IX. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, a pontiff of a warm and fiery diſpoſition, wrote immediately about it to the grand maſter, and the whole order, in terms dictated by a furious zeal. The exactneſs, which the duty of a faithful hiſtorian requires, does not allow me to paſs over his brief in ſilence, eſpecially ſince it is recited at length by the annaliſt of the church.

" WE have heard with grief, ſays the pope, that " you keep in your houſes women of a looſe life, and " live diſorderly with them; that you are no longer " exact in obſerving your vow of poverty; and that " ſome particular perſons among you enjoy great eſtates in property; that, in conſideration of an annual retribution, you protect, without diſtinction, all " that are admitted into your con-fraternity; that, under this pretence, your houſes ſerve for an aſylum to " robbers, murderers, and heretics; that, in oppoſition to the intereſt of the Latin princes, you have furniſhed arms and horſes to Vatacius, an enemy of " God and the church; that you daily retrench ſomething of your ordinary alms; that you alter the " wills of ſuch as die in your hoſpital, not without " ſuſpicion of forgery; that you allow no perſons " that are there to confeſs to any prieſts, but thoſe of " your order, or ſuch as you give ſalaries to. It is " alledged likeways, adds the ſovereign pontiff, that " many of your brethren are ſuſpected of hereſy."

THE pope, at the end of this brief, exhorts the grand maſter to correct theſe great abuſes, allowing him, for that end, only three months time; and if it be not done within that term, by the ſame brief, which bears date March 12th 1238, he orders the archbiſhop of Tyre, to repair to the head-houſe of the order, and, in virtue of the apoſtolical authority, to ſet up about an immediate reformation of that great body of military friars, as well in the head as in the members.

'TIS

'TIS not a little ſurpriſing, after the honourable teſtimony that Andrew king of Hungary, an eye-witneſs, had, in 1218, given of the virtue of theſe knights, that we find, in this pontiff's briefs, ſuch grievous reproaches againſt the order. Perhaps they might ariſe from the hatred and calumny of their enemies: perhaps too, and it is probable, the pope would not have made ſuch a ſtir about them, if he were not convinced of their irregularities. So extraordinary a change in their houſes, if it be true, ſhould make the holieſt and moſt auſtere ſocieties tremble, when they reflect, that they may, in leſs than twenty years, degenerate from their primitive regularity, and fall into the moſt terrible diſorders.

WHATEVER be the caſe, as to the truth or falſhood of theſe accuſations, it is certain, that in the ſame age, and under the ſame pontificate, the ſpirit of mortification and charity ſtill made an eminent figure among the hoſpitallers, and ſeveral of the knights of thoſe times are even now honoured as ſaints.

SUCH are the bleſſed Hugh, Gerard Mecati of Villamagna, Gerland of Poland, all hoſpitallers of the order of St. John, who lived in that age, and deſerved to be canonized in the opinion, and by the anticipated ſuffrages of the Chriſtian world.

THE bleſſed Hugh, preceptor or commander of the commandry of Genoa, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims in the hoſpital under his direction. The verbal proceſs of his life, drawn up after his death by Otho de Fieſchi, archbiſhop of Genoa, upon expreſs orders from pope Gregory IX. ſays, that his life was one continual penance, attended with fervent prayers, and a boundleſs charity to the poor and pilgrims. According to the archbiſhop's account, he never eat meat; his faſt laſted the whole year round, Sundays only excepted. He always wore a long hair-ſhirt tied upon his fleſh with an iron chain; a table ſerved him for his bed, and he placed it in a grotto below the hoſpital, on the ſide towards the ſea. He paſſed the whole of the day, either in prayer, or in attend-

attendance on the ſick; and if any pilgrims came in, he waſhed their feet, and kiſſed them with profound humility. 'Twas in a continual practice of theſe virtues, that the bleſſed Hugh finiſhed at laſt the ſacrifice of himſelf.

THE bleſſed Gerard Mecati lived almoſt at the ſame time. He was born at Villamagna, a town about three or four miles from the famous city of Florence. He entered himſelf early in the order of hoſpitallers, as a ſerving brother, and diſcharged all the duties of his place with an ardent zeal and charity towards the poor. Having paſſed part of his life in the hoſpitals of the order, a deſire of greater perfection, and the love of retirement and ſolitude, made him procure the permiſſion of his ſuperiors, to end his days in a deſart. He ſhut himſelf up in a poor cottage, without any cloaths, but a long hair cloth, or any food, but herbs and wild fruits. Paul Mimi, in his treatiſe of the gentry of Florence, ſpeaks of the bleſſed Gerard in theſe terms: "Gerard Mecati, a native of Villamagna, was "a ſerving brother in the illuſtrious order of the "knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, and we may juſt-"ly call him a ſecond Hilarion." It was about A. D. 1142, that this pious hermit ended his days, and was tranſlated to the ſociety of the ſaints.

BROTHER Gerland of Poland, others ſay of Germany, knight of the order, who lived at the ſame time, was no leſs illuſtrious for his piety than his valour. He ſpent part of his life in war againſt the infidels. His ſuperiors ſent him afterwards in the retinue of the emperor Frederic II. to take care of the intereſts of the order. He ſoon became an example to all the court; and, having acquitted himſelf of his poſt to the grand maſter's ſatisfaction, he retired, with his permiſſion, to the commandry of Calatagirona, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, leading a life truly angelical. I ſhall not inſiſt on his application to prayers, or his continual auſterities, I ſhall confine myſelf entirely to the virtues of his condition, and thoſe of a true hoſpitaller. He was a father to the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator, and amicable compound-

er of all differences; all which examples prove, that at that time the ſpirit of charity and love of mortification were not extinct in the order, as an unknown informer would have perſuaded the pope. As for that pontiff's reproaching the hoſpitallers with having ſupplied a Greek prince called Vatacius with arms and horſes, I can ſcarce find any better grounds for this than for the other accuſations, with which ſome have endeavoured to blacken their character. All that the pope ſays of this Vatacius, whom in his brief he ſtiles an enemy of God and the church, depends on a train of events, which, with regard to the hiſtory I am writing, it may be proper to clear up.

AT the time of the laſt revolution and diſturbance at Conſtantinople, which occaſioned the taking of that capital of the empire by the troops of the cruſade, ſome Greek princes, deſcended moſt of them from imperial houſes, to avoid ſubmitting to the authority of the Latins, retired into different provinces of the empire, cantoned themſelves there, and ſet themſelves up for ſovereigns. Iſaac, or as others call him, Alexis, Comnenus went to found a new empire on the borders of Cappadocia and Colchis, the city of Trebizund, ſituated on the Black Sea, being made the capital of it. The Princeſs Michael and Theodore Comneni ſeized on the empire and Albania; and Theodoro Laſcaris, the moſt potent and formidable of them all, after having conquered the greateſt part of Bithynia, defeated the Turcomans that were in poſſeſſion of it, and killed the ſultan of Iconium in battle with his own hand. He aſſumed the imperial ornaments at Nice, with the title of emperor, which he left to John Ducas his ſon-in-law, ſirnamed Vatacius; which would make one ſuſpect, that this prince was deſcended of the imperial houſe of Ducas only by the female ſide.

EXCEPTING the point of ſchiſm, he was one of the greateſt princes of his age, wiſe, vigilant, and indefatigable, always mindful of events, and on the watch to obſerve the ſtate and diſpoſition of the kingdoms adjoining to his own. All theſe provinces afforded him

ſo

ſo many enemies. He looked upon the poſſeſſors of them, whether Chriſtians or Mahometans, as uſurpers; but, wiſe in the ordering of his deſigns, he took his meaſures ſo well, that he never had but one enemy at a time to oppoſe. He ſcarce ever wanted pretences to make war, and, if he did not carry it on with ſucceſs, he was ſtill leſs at a loſs for means to bring about a peace. Thus, to prevent the pope's ſending of ſuccours to the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople, he affected a great zeal for the union of the Greek church with the Latin, and carried the matter ſo far, as to have conferences held upon the ſubject in his own palace, wherein he aſſiſted himſelf, and, to encourage a complying and reconciling temper, aſſumed the character of a diſintereſted mediator. 'Twas by ſuch a politic conduct, as much as by his valour, that, after driving the Latin emperors out of Aſia Minor, he carried his arms into Europe, and advanced to attack them in the very centre of the empire.

SUCH was the famous Vatacius, with whom the hoſpitallers were accuſed of holding correſpondence. But if we reflect that this Greek prince was often engaged againſt the ſame infidels, with whom the knights of St. John were continually at war, why ſhould it be thought ſtrange, that in a common cauſe, and as allies, they ſhould aſſiſt that prince with horſes and arms: beſides, as the hoſpitallers had ſome houſes in Conſtantinople, I do not ſee how it can be imputed to them as a crime, that they kept ſome meaſures with ſo powerful a prince, who was on the point of making himſelf maſter of that capital of the empire.

THAT empire, of which the princes of the cruſade had made ſo glorious a conqueſt, had, from the very moment of their gaining it, loſt much of its ancient grandeur and power. Beſides the iſles of the Archipelago, of which the Venetians and Genoeſe had made themſelves maſters, we have ſeen, that the marqueſs of Montferrat, for his ſhare of the conqueſt, had Theſſaly and the adjoining provinces erected into a

kingdom, and that the Greek princes had quartered out, and diſmembered that unfortunate empire.

BALDWIN, the firſt Latin emperor, was no ſooner acknowledged as ſuch, than, impatient to ſignalize his acceſſion to that great dignity, he formed the ſiege of Adrianople, the inhabitants whereof had made an inſurrection. Joanitze, king of the Bulgarians and Walachians, who had revolted from the Greek empire, a prince of great valour, but cruel and barbarous, fearing the emperor might attack him in his turn, advanced to the relief of the beſieged. He was at the head of a numerous army, compoſed of the Bulgarians and Walachians his ſubjects, beſides ſome Greeks, and even Turcomans that he had in his pay. Baldwin, upon his approach, raiſed the ſiege, advanced to meet him, and gave him battle. His troops broke through all before them: Baldwin, fired with courage, and tranſported with the hopes of victory, inconſiderably abandoned himſelf to the purſuit of an enemy, that fled with art, and only to draw him into an ambuſcade. The new emperor of Conſtantinople, too far advanced before the body of his army, was ſurrounded at once by the Bulgarians and Walachians, who, cutting the troops that had been able to follow him in pieces, took him priſoner. Joanitze kept him for ſome time in a dungeon, loaden with irons; and when at laſt he took him out, it was only to put him to a barbarous death. After ordering his legs and arms to be cut off, they threw the unfortunate prince into a valley, where he lived three days expoſed as a prey to the wild beaſts, who fed upon him.

PRINCE Henry his brother ſucceeded him, and governed the empire with various ſucceſs for the ſpace of ten years. He is ſaid to have been poiſoned by the Greeks. This prince dying, like his brother, without iſſue, left the crown to Peter de Courtenay his brother-in-law, a prince of the blood royal of France. This new emperor, going to Conſtantinople, and paſſing through the dominions of Theodore Comnenus, by virtue of a treaty of alliance made with that prince,

was

was ſeized in the mountains of Albania, and the perfidious Greek put him to death. The crown deſcended of right to Philip count of Namur, eldeſt ſon to the emperor Peter; but that young prince, in all probability, preferring a quiet principality, and a ſure dominion, to a tottering throne, and the empty title of emperor, reſigned his right to prince Robert his brother, who arrived at Conſtantinople at the latter end of the year 1220. He had all his reign two formidable enemies to encounter, John Ducas, and Theodore Comnenus, the cruel murderer of the emperor his father; who, without acting in concert, took from him, each on his reſpective ſide, moſt of the places that covered Conſtantinople. A third enemy, and a much more dangerous one than the two former, roſe up to complete his misfortunes. There was in Conſtantinople a young lady of admirable beauty, originally of the province of Artois, and daughter to Baldwin de Neuville, a knight that was preſent at the taking of Conſtantinople. This lady was on the point of being married to a young Burgundian lord, with whom ſhe was already contracted. Her relations preſenting her to the emperor for his conſent to the marriage, the young prince was ſmitten with her ſingular beauty, a violent paſſion ſeized him, and, though he was ſenſible that young Neuville was engaged to a lord of his court, yet, having no other way to make himſelf eaſy, he reſolved to marry her. The mother and daughter, dazzled on the other hand with the luſtre of a crown, ſlighted their firſt engagements, and the mother conducted her daughter to the emperor's bed. Sanut ſays expreſsly, that he was married to her. Baldwin d'Aveſne ſeems on the contrary to inſinuate, that the prince enjoyed her on eaſier terms. Be that as it will, the Burgundian, that was to marry the young lady, did not hear of his misfortune till it was too late to prevent it. The injured lord calls together his relations and friends, and demands their aſſiſtance againſt a prince whom he called a tyrant. Thoſe gentlemen all eſpouſe his cauſe, and, with an amazing boldneſs, break

into the palace by night, and ſeize the mother and daughter. The mother was put into a ſack, and thrown into the ſea, and the conſpirators, after cutting off the noſe and lips of the daughter, retired. The emperor flattered himſelf, that he ſhould find the reſt of the lords of his court ready to revenge ſo horrible an inſolence; but, to his great ſurprize, he heard that ſome of them were actually concerned in it, and that the reſt did not ſcruple to own, that they would have done as much, if they had ſuffered the like crying injuſtice. Robert, enraged to ſee himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and to meet with domeſtic enemies that ſurpaſſed barbarians and ſtrangers in cruelty, took ſhipping for Italy. He was not without hopes of procuring a powerful ſuccour from thence, and returning into his dominions at the head of an army, that would ſtrike terror into his enemies, and command the reſpect of his ſubjects; but, after wandering through ſeveral countries, he died at laſt upon the road, through exceſs of grief, unable to ſurvive the inſolent and contemptuous manner in which they had treated him.

NEVER was the empire in ſo deplorable a condition: over-run with diviſions both within and without, and attacked on all ſides by mighty enemies, it had no reſource left, nor any ſucceſſor in the Imperial throne, but the third ſon of Peter de Courtenay, called Baldwin II. a young prince, hardly nine or ten years old, and conſequently incapable, by his age, to govern the ſtate, eſpecially in ſo terrible a juncture.

IN this diſmal ſituation, the French lords of Conſtantinople had recourſe to John de Brienne, formerly king of Jeruſalem, conſtituting him regent and protector of the empire; and, to engage him to undertake the government, they conferred upon him the very title of emperor, to enjoy it during his life, but without prejudice to the rights of the lawful heir, agreeable to an old cuſtom uſed in France, where the tutors and guardians of young noblemen, in their minority, are ſtiled lords of their eſtates, and hold them as ſuch of the ſupreme lords.

JOHN

JOHN de Brienne repaired to Conſtantinople, took upon him the government, repulſed and defeated the emperor Vatacius and Azen king of Bulgaria, who threatened Conſtantinople with a ſiege. But, as that prince was then above fourſcore years old, the empire could not reap all the advantages they might have juſtly expected from his valour and long experience in the conduct of armies, if he had been leſs advanced in age. Every one's thoughts were now taken up with diſmal preſages of the ſhort duration of the empire of the Latins. Young Baldwin himſelf was even obliged to travel into Italy, and other kingdoms of Chriſtendom, with John de Bethune his governor, to implore ſuccour. All Aſia had their eyes fixed on the emperor Vatacius, a prince of the greateſt power and abilities that had been for a long time upon the throne of the great Conſtantine. He wanted nothing in a manner but the capital, and it was not doubted but he would ſoon make himſelf maſter of that. The Chriſtians, poſſeſſed with an high opinion of his valour, looked upon him as the only prince capable of maintaining them in Paleſtine. I know not whether the regard the hoſpitallers ſhewed that great prince, were imputed to theſe ſentiments of eſteem they had for him; but, certain it is, that the reproaches it drew upon the grand maſter from the pope, made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he was inconſolable; and the miſerable condition to which he ſaw the Holy Land reduced, without ſuccour, 1240.
without troops, and without a ſovereign to command them, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to his life. In his ſtead was choſen GUERIN.
brother Guerin or Garin, whoſe ſurname and country we are entirely ignorant of.

WE only know, that he was intruſted with the government of the order in difficult times. Paleſtine was then deſtitute of its ſovereign's preſence, and in no ſubjection to his repreſentatives. The hoſpitallers and templars, the whole force in a manner of the Holy Land, were likeways unluckily divided on account of ſome treaties

ties which each of them had severally made with different infidel princes.

THIBAUD V. of the name, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre in right of Blanche of Navarre his mother, made about that time an expedition into Palestine at the head of a crusade; but their ill success, and the loss of the battle of Gaza, obliged him afterwards to conclude a truce with Nazer emir of Carac. The templars were the persons that negotiated this treaty, which the king of Navarre signed out of an impatient desire to return home; and those knights made likeways a league offensive and defensive with that infidel prince, against the sultan of Egypt; but the hospitallers refused to be comprehended or concerned in it, either because they found the treaty disadvantageous, or because they complained the templars had carried on this negotiation without their knowledge or consent[a].

THE king of Navarre, receiving advice, that Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, was on the way, and expected every monent, embarked in great haste with the remains of his crusade, to prevent the English prince's being witness to his disgrace. Richard, upon his arrival, found, that the emir of Carac, who in some measure was dependent on the sovereign of Damascus, had it not in his power to maintain the truce. That prince, therefore, at the head of the crusade advanced immediately up to Jaffa, where he gave audience to an envoy from the sultan of Egypt, then actually at war with the sultan of Damascus, who came to offer him another truce. Richard consented to it, with the concurrence of the duke of Burgundy, count Gaultier de Brienne, nephew to John de Brienne king of Jerusalem, the grand master of the templars, and part of the lords of the country; and it was stipulated by this treaty, that the infidel prince should order all the Mahometans out of Jerusalem that were settled in it; that he should restore

[a] Prædicta enim treuga procuratione templariorum firma est, hospitalariorum interveniente consensu. Sanut. l. 3. p. 216.

ſtore Bethlehem, Nazareth, and ſeveral villages and caſtles, neceſſary to ſecure the road to the capital of Judæa; that all priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides; and that the Chriſtians ſhould be at liberty to rebuild the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and the other places yielded to them.[a] The Engliſh prince, though he did not perform any military exploits, yet concluded this treaty, which was no leſs uſeful, and was executed before his departure: but the templars, out of ſpleen to the hoſpitallers, refuſed, in their turn, to be comprehended in it; ſo that whilſt two truces were on foot, the templars and hoſpitallers continued each in a ſtate of war, the one againſt the ſultan of Damaſcus, the other againſt the ſultan of Egypt; and theſe diſſenſions would have been fatal to the ſtate, if thoſe ſultans, and moſt of the deſcendents of Saladine and Safadine, had not been divided at the ſame time by civil wars. 'Twas owing entirely to thoſe inteſtine diſturbances of theirs, that the Latin Chriſtians ſaw themſelves at laſt the maſters and ſole inhabitants of Jeruſalem. The patriarch came back thither with all his clergy; the churches were reconſecrated; the holy ſacraments were adminiſtred there, with infinite ſatisfaction to all that were preſent, and the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers carried the patriarch all the money that was in the treaſury of the order, to contribute to rebuild the walls of the holy city.

THE work, however, notwithſtanding all the hands employed in it, advanced but ſlowly, and they had ſcarce thrown up ſome ſlight entrenchments, when Paleſtine was overflowed with a deluge of barbarians, called Coraſmins. They were a people lately come out of Perſia, and deſcended, as it is ſaid, from the ancient Parthians; at leaſt they inhabited their country called Yrac Agemy, or the Perſian Hyrcania. Others place them in Couvarzem near Coraſan; but it is a queſtion, whether theſe Coraſmins were not originally natives

[a] Literæ comitis Richardi, continentes ſummam ſuæ peregrinationis. M. Paris in Hen. III. ad ann. 1241. p. 566. et 567.

tives of the kingdom of Cariſme, which Ptolemy calls Choraſmia, from whence theſe barbarians, being moſt of them ſhepherds, and without any fixed abode, might have paſſed into ſome of the provinces of Perſia. However this be, they were involved in the famous revolution, that happened twenty years before in the higher Aſia, which Genchizcan, the firſt emperor of the old Mogul Tartars, reduced under his power. Octay, ſon to Genchizcan, and ſucceſſor to that conqueror, or elſe prince Keiouc his ſon, caan or great cham, others ſay, Tuly, Genchizcan's third ſon, who had Perſia for his portion, being incenſed againſt this people, who had killed ſome of his officers that were levying taxes of them, drove them out of his dominions.

THESE people, pagans by religion, cruel and brutal in their nature, and barbarians above all that ever bore the character, roved up and down in different countries, without being able to find any fixed and ſecure abode, or any prince that would ſuffer them in his territories [a]: odious to the Mahometans as well as Chriſtians for their robberies and cruelties, they were looked upon as the common enemies of mankind. The ſultan of Egypt, however [b], to revenge himſelf on the templars for the league they had made with his enemies the ſultans or emirs of Damaſcus, Carac, and Emeſſa, adviſed Barbacan, chief and general of the Coraſmins, to fall into Paleſtine, repreſenting to him, that the conqueſt of it was eaſy [c], the places diſmantled, and open on all ſides, that there were few troops in the country, and diviſions among the leaders: he enforced theſe arguments with conſiderable preſents, with the promiſe of a mighty ſuccour, and an aſſurance of joining his army, with a body of his own troops.

THIS

[a] Bibliotheque orientale, p. 1001.

[b] M. Paris ad an. 1244. p. 618.

[c] Joinevill we de S. Louis, p. 98.

THIS was more than was neceſſary, to determine a ſavage and barbarous people, who were ſeeking, with the point of their ſwords, a country to inhabit, and had already penetrated into Meſopotamia[a]. Barbacan marched thence immediately, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, and fell into Paleſtine before they had the leaſt news of his expedition. But the cruelties of this nation, and their burning all before them, ſoon gave notice of their coming. Jeruſalem was ſtill open on all ſides; the grand maſters of the hoſpital and temple were then in it, but had ſcarce any troops with them. In this ſurprizing juncture, they thought they had nothing to do, but to convoy the inhabitants to Jaffa, a place fortified and in a condition of defence, and afterwards to take the field, and draw out all their forces to oppoſe the enterprizes of the infidels. The inhabitants in general quitted Jeruſalem, and followed the knights, except a ſmall number, who were loth to leave their houſes, and threw up haſtily ſome weak intrenchments in ſuch places as were moſt expoſed. In the mean time, the Coraſmins arrive, force theſe entrenchments, break into the city ſword in hand, deſtroy all before them with fire and ſword, without diſtinction either of age or ſex; and, to deceive the Chriſtians that were fled, they planted ſtandards with the croſs upon the towers. Thoſe that were marched out before, having notice that the croſs was ſtill to be ſeen planted on the walls, felt an infinite regret for having abandoned their houſes with ſuch precipitation; and fancying that the barbarians had turned their arms another way, or had been repulſed by the Chriſtians that were left in the city, they returned back thither in ſpite of all that the grand maſters could ſay, and delivered themſelves up to the fury of the barbarians, who put near ſeven thouſand of them to the ſword. A company of nuns, children and old men, who had run for ſhelter to the holy ſepulchre, and the church of Calvary, were ſacrificed in the very place where the Saviour of mankind

1243.

was

[a] Sanut, p. 17.

was pleaſed to die for their ſalvation, and there was no ſort of cruelty and profanation that theſe barbarians did not act in the holy city.

THE templars in the mean time having advice, that a detachment of the ſultan of Egypt's had joined them, called in the ſultans of Damaſcus and Emeſſa, who were his enemies, to their ſuccour[a]. Theſe infidels ſent them four thouſand horſe, commanded by Mucha, one of their generals. The lords of the country, making their vaſſals and the militia take arms, joined the Chriſtian army. There paſſed at firſt ſeveral skirmiſes between the two parties, in which the Coraſmins, though ſuperior in number, loſt more than the Chriſtians.

AT laſt, by the patriarch's precipitation, contrary to the advice of the principal officers, they came to a general engagament. The Chriſtian army was drawn up in three bodies. The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, with the knights of his order, and ſuſtained by Waller III. count of Jaffa, and nephew to king John, commanded the left wing: Moucha, at the head of the Turcomans, commanded the right, and the templars, with the militia of the country, were in the center[b]. They fought on both ſides with the ſame courage and inclination; but there was a vaſt inequality in their number. The Coraſmins had ten to one, and, to make the diſadvantage ſtill greater, as ſoon as the armies were engaged, moſt of Moucha's troops, either out of cowardice or treachery, quitted their ranks, and fled.

The Chriſtians, reſolving either to vanquiſh or die, ſeemed not at all diſcouraged, nor gave ground on this occaſion: the battle laſted two days: the knights of the two orders made prodigious efforts of valour, but at laſt their ſtrength being quite ſpent, and overwhelmed with the multitude of the enemy, they were all in a manner either killed or taken priſoners: there eſcaped out of this general ſlaughter, only twenty ſix hoſpitallers;

[a] Epiſt. Fréd. Imperatoris. Matt. Paris in Hen. III. p. 618.
[b] Joinville vie de S. Louis, par du Cange p. 99.

hoſpitallers; (ſome accounts ſay but ſixteen) thirty three templars and three Teutonic knights: the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, and a commander of the Teutonics were killed at the head of their companies. The hoſpitallers not long after choſe for their grand maſter brother Bertrand de Comps, an old knight, whoſe valour and experience raiſed him to the ſame dignity, which a gentleman of his name had formerly been inveſted with[a]. BERTRAND DE COMPS.

THIS general defeat completed the calamities of the Holy Land. The emperor Frederic, in a letter directed to the earl of Cornwall his brother-in-law, laments this fatal day, and lays the blame of it on the templars, who, after breaking the truce, which he had made, as he ſays, by the hoſpitallers advice, with the ſultan of Egypt, truſted too implicitly to the ſuccours and promiſes of the ſultans of Damaſcus and Carac[b]. 1243.

BROTHER William de Chateauneuf, preceptor of the hoſpitallers of St. John of Jeruſalem, and afterwards grand maſter of the order, in a letter which he wrote to the ſeignior de Merlai, attributes, in like manner, this bloody invaſion of the Coraſmins, to the league made with the ſultan of Damaſcus, againſt his enemy the ſultan of Egypt; and, according to this knight's account of that bloody battle, in which he himſelf was preſent, the two grand maſters were killed in it, and none of the hoſpitallers got off but himſelf and fifteen more, to lament, ſays he, the fate of thoſe who died for the defence of the holy places and that of the Chriſtians. 1244.

[a] Joinville, vie de S. Louis, p. 100.

[b] Dum præter idem quod templarıorum ſuperba religio, et aborigenariorum terræ Barorum deliciis educata ſuperbit, Soldanum Babyloniæ ad evocandum auxilium Choerminorum per bellum improbum et improviſum coegerunt, noſtro regio fœdere parvi ſpenſo, quod nos, una cum conventu et magiſtris domorum Sancti Joannis et Sanctæ Mariæ Teutonicorum, nomine noſtro contraxeramus. Epiſt. Fred. Imperat. de depopulatione Terræ Sanctæ. Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1244.

BOTH indeed were a real object of compaſſion. This order, once ſo flouriſhing[a], was now in a manner deſtroyed, and the Chriſtians, to whom the templars and hoſpitallers uſed to ſerve for a defence, were now left without any, and forced to immure themſelves within the town of St. John d'Acre, while the Coraſmins encamped in the plain two miles from the place, ravaged the open country, burnt the villages and towns, and either murdered the inhabitants without mercy, or carried them off into a miſerable ſlavery.

BUT God, who, at the time appointed by his mercy, revenges his children upon the miniſters he made uſe of in his wrath, ſuffered diſſenſions to riſe up among theſe ſavage creatures; moſt of them killed one another, and the wretched remains of theſe barbarians, being diſperſed in the country, were knocked on the head by peaſants. In a word, they were all deſtroyed, even to their very name, which, ſince that time, is no where mentioned in hiſtory[b].

THE loſs ſuſtained by the hoſpitallers againſt theſe barbarians did not cool their zeal and courage. We have obſerved, that thoſe knights made head in all quarters againſt the infidels, and never failed to appear wherever the Chriſtians made war againſt them. Spain, Hungary, and the principality of Antioch, received new advantages from the ſuccour of their arms. Hugh de Forcalquier, caſtellan of Empoſta, was conſtantly in the army of don James king of Arragon. He appeared at the head of all the knights of that kingdom at the ſiege of Xatira; and the hiſtorian of Aragon obſerves, that a knight of St. John, called Don Pedro de Villaragut, diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by actions of ſurprizing valour.

THE knights of Hungary rendered no leſs eminent ſervices to their country againſt the Tartars, who, at that

[a] Epiſt. flebilis prælatorum Terræ Sanctæ in Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1244. lib. 3. p. 631.

[b] Et factum eſt ut ſub cœlo nomen eorum penitus deleretur, adeo quod nec eorum veſtigia apparuerint. Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1247.

that time ravaged Tranſylvania, Hungary and Poland. Pope Innocent IV. wrote to them, in the moſt preſſing terms, as may be ſeen by his brief of the eight of the Calends of July, in the fifth year of his pontificate. Theſe noble warriors took up arms immediately, and, joining the Frangipani, who were then lords of Dalmatia and Croatia, they drove theſe barbarians out of Hungary, brought king Belo, who had been forced to quit his dominions, back in triumph, and replaced him on the throne.

SUCH important ſervices did not fail of a ſuitable recompence; and, beſides new privileges conferred upon them, this prince, who was ſon to king Andrew before mentioned, walking in the ſteps of his father, granted lands and manors to the order, being perſuaded, that he thereby acquired ſo many brave warriors to his kingdom, and illuſtrious defenders to his ſubjects, who were often expoſed to the incurſions of the infidels. 'Tis thus the hiſtorian of Hungary expreſſes himſelf on this occaſion, calling the hoſpitallers by anticipation the knights of Rhodes, though they did not take that name till an age after this event.

WHILST the knights were thus employed in Hungary againſt the Tartars, the prince of Antioch was attacked on a ſudden, by the Selgeucidian Turcomans, who, an age before, had quitted their deſarts, choſen themſelves leaders, and over-run at the ſame time ſeveral countries of Aſia, as we have obſerved in the beginning of the firſt book.

THE prince of Antioch, ſurprized at this unexpected invaſion, had recourſe to the military orders, the uſual refuge of all the Latin Chriſtians. The two grand maſters took the field, with the remainder of their knights, and drawing out likeways the troops which they had in pay, marched directly againſt the infidels. The fight was long and bloody; the number of the Turcomans, who were brave ſoldiers, balanced the uſual effects of the valour of theſe knights. Brother Bertrand de Comps, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, full of indignation at a reſiſtance he was not

uſed to meet with, throws himſelf into the midſt of the enemy's ſquadrons, breaks them, and puts them to flight. But in this laſt charge he received ſo many wounds, that he died ſoon after, and the order choſe for his ſucceſſor brother Peter de Villebride, a knight highly eſteemed for his piety and valour. They could not have made a better choice, eſpecially in relation to a new cruſade, which St. Louis, king of France, was to head in perſon, and which we are now to ſpeak of.

PETER DE VILLEBRIDE. 1248.

THE news of the rout of the Chriſtian army being brought to pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, that pontiff, to engage the Chriſtians of the weſt to ſend a new ſuccour to the Holy Land, called a general council at Lyons, which was opened on the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul. Galeran, biſhop of Berytus, who brought over the account of the victory of the Coraſmins, preſented to the fathers of the council a letter, written by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the biſhops of Paleſtine, to all the prelates of France and England, and containing a relation of that diſmal event which was drawn up almoſt in theſe terms.

"THE Tartars, after deſtroying Perſia, turned "their arms againſt the Coraſmins, and drove them "out of their country. Theſe barbarians, having no "ſettled abode, made application to ſeveral Sarazen "princes, to grant them ſome country to dwell in, "but in vain; for they are a people of ſo cruel a diſ"poſition, that thoſe who come the neareſt to them "in that reſpect, refuſed to give them any ſhelter. "The ſultan of Egypt was the only perſon that acted "otherways; he invited them into Paleſtine, and pro"miſed the aſſiſtance of his forces to maintain them "there. They entered the country with a vaſt ar"my, compoſed almoſt entirely of horſe, bringing "their wives and children along with them. Their "incurſion was ſo ſudden, that no body could either "foreſee or oppoſe it; and they ravaged, without

"oppoſition,

" oppoſition, all the country, from Thoron of the " knights, to Gaza or Gazer.

" IN ſo ſurprizing an invaſion, there was no other " expedient but to ſet one barbarian againſt another; " and, by the concurring ſentiments of the templars, " hoſpitallers, Teutonics, and gentry of the country, " it was reſolved to demand ſuccour of the ſultans of " Damaſcus and la Chamelle, our allies, and ſworn " enemies to the Coraſmins. But as this ſuccour was " both remote and uncertain, the danger preſſing, and " Jeruſalem without walls and fortifications, about " ſix thouſand inhabitants went to ſeek for refuge in " other Chriſtian towns, and only a ſmall number of " Chriſtians were left in the capital.

" SUCH as quitted Jeruſalem, took the road of the " mountains, where they thought themſelves ſafeſt, " becauſe the Mahometans who inhabited there were " ſubjects of the ſultan of Carac, with whom we were " in truce. But theſe mountaineers, violating the " faith of the treaty, fell upon theſe rufugees, killed " part of them, took and ſold others, even the nuns; " and thoſe who got down into the plains were maſſa- " cred by the Coraſmins; ſo that ſcarce three hundred " were left out of all that number of people. At " laſt the Coraſmins forced their way into the holy " city. The few Chriſtians that were left there, wo- " men, children, and old men, having taken refuge in " the church of the holy ſepulchre, thoſe barbarians " butchered them all in that holy place; and, cutting " off the heads of the prieſts, who were then officiat- " ing, they ſaid one to another, Let us ſhed here the " blood of Chriſtians, in the very place where they " offer up wine to their God, who they ſay was hanged " here. They afterwards pulled off all the ornaments " from the holy ſepulchre, profaned the church of " Calvary, rummaged the tombs of the kings of Je- " ruſalem, diſturbing the aſhes of the dead, and ſcat- " tering their remains abroad. The churches of mount " Sion, the temple and the vale of Jehoſaphat,

* Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1244.

" where the bleſſed virgin's ſepulchre is to be ſeen, " were no better treated. In the church of Bethlehem they committed abominations too horrible to " be related, carrying their impiety to a much more " outragious height than ever the Sarazens did, who " always paid ſome regard to the holy places.

" THE military knights, and the barons of the " country, in conjunction with the ſuccours ſent them " by the ſultans their allies, advanced directly againſt " the barbarians, marching along the ſea coaſt, and " came up with them near Gazer or Gaza. They " joined battle on the eve of St. Luke. The Sarazens " immedtately in our army took to their heels; ſo that " the Chriſtians, being left alone to oppoſe both the " Coraſmins and Babylonians, were born down by the " multitude of their enemies. Out of the three military orders, there were ſaved but thirty three templars, twenty ſix hoſpitallers, and three Teutonic " knights. Moſt of the nobility and gentry of the " country either periſhed in the battle, or were taken " priſoners.

" IN this extremity, we have implored ſuccours from " the king of Cyprus, and the prince of Antioch; " but we know not what they can do for us, or what " we are to expect from them; and, great as our loſs " has been, we are ſtill apprehenſive of greater to " come. The hoſpitallers are beſieged by the Sarazens in the caſtle of Aſcalon; the Holy Land is left " deſtitute of all human ſuccour; the Coraſmins are " encamped in the plain, two miles from Acre; from " whence they ravage the whole country as far as " Nazareth; ſo that if we have no relief ſent us by " the month of May, the Holy Land is infallibly loſt, " and we ſhall be forced into ſome caſtles which are " ſtill left us, and which the hoſpitallers and templars " have undertaken to defend."

THE reading of this letter drew tears from the whole aſſembly, The fathers of the council ordered the cruſade to be preached up through all Chriſtendom; and that ſuch as had already put on the croſs, or ſhould

put

put it on afterwards, ſhould aſſemble in a place to be agreed on, to receive the pope's bleſſing; that there ſhould be a truce for four years between all Chriſtian princes; that during all that time there ſhould be no turnaments, nor feaſts, nor public rejoicings; that the faithful ſhould be exhorted to contribute out of their fortunes and eſtates, for carrying on ſo righteous an expedition, and that eccleſiaſtics ſhould pay the twentieth of their revenues, and cardinals the tenths, for three years ſucceſſively.

SEVERAL princes, and a great number of the nobility, eſpecially of the kingdom of France, put on the croſs. But none did it with ſo much zeal, courage, and devotion, as Louis IX. king of France, known ſince by the name of St. Louis. The pope founded his greateſt hopes upon that prince. "Our Saviour "(ſays the pontiff, in his letter to the nobility and "gentry of the kingdom) ſeems, out of all the other "princes of the world, to have choſen our deareſt ſon, "the king of France, for the deliverance of the Holy "Land, who, beſides the virtues which diſtinguiſh "him ſo highly above other ſovereigns, commands "likeways a mighty and a warlike nation[a]." This prince did not ſtay for the pope's inſtances and exhortations to engage him to ſuccour the Chriſtians of the eaſt. As ſoon as he heard of the victory of the Coraſmins, he reſolved to go in perſon to the Holy Land; and, as he was obliged to wait till the affairs of his kingdom would permit him to take ſuch a voyage, he ſent them, in the mean time, large ſupplies of troops and money, which he committed to the care and management of the hoſpitallers and templars.

THEY had received orders in the weſt, to ſend into Paleſtine the new knights, and ſuch as were as yet probationers, with a body of ſecular troops, and all the money depoſited in the cheſt of the priories; and the

[a] Ut abſtergerentur lacrymæ á maxillis matris noſtræ eccleſiæ deplorantis filios ſuos nuper trucidatos, dominus rex Francorum, hoſpitalarii quoque et templarii milites neophitos, et manum armatam, cum theſauro non modico, illuc ad conſolationem et auxilium ibi commorantium feſtinanter tranſmiſerunt.

the two grand masters having recourse to God, to implore the blessing of heaven upon their arms, appointed extraordinary fasts, and continual prayers to be offered up throughout the order[a].

THESE knights, besides the king of France's money, and that of the order, brought likeways with them a thousand pounds, that Richard[b] earl of Cornwall dedicated to the defence of the holy places. The two grand masters sent afterwards to the sultan of Egypt, to demand a pass for two of their knights, to be deputed to him on a particular negotiation. The design of their embassy, was to redeem out of the hands of the Sarazens, the hospitallers and templars, that had been taken in the late battle, and delivered up to them by the Corasmins. Formerly both the orders had always looked upon those that surrendered prisoners of war, as so many dead men; but now, at such a dismal juncture, the grand masters did not think it proper to keep up to the severity of this discipline: and in hopes of receiving a new reinforcement from these prisoners, they sent away deputies with a large sum of money, to procure their ransom. The pass necessary for their security being delivered, these commissioners set out and arrived at the Egyptian Babylon, or at grand Cairo, places which, by reason of their neighbourhood, are very often confounded by historians. The two knights, to smoothe the way for so extraordinary a negotiation, distributed several sums among the ministers and favourites of the sultan. The person then possessed of that dignity was Salech, the son of Camel, the eldest of Saffadin's children, a very politic prince, and formidable to his neighbours. 'Tis to this prince, that the institution of that body of troops called MAMALUCKS is ascribed. They were so named from an Arabic word, which signifies a slave

[a] Statuerunt inter se orationes et jejunia præter solita specialiter pro liberatione Terræ Sanctæ facienda. Matt. Paris.

[b] Comes Richardus ex innatâ sibi magnificentiâ illuc in sucursum mille libros per hospitalarios transmisit. Idem ibid.

ſlave that is ſold, becauſe they were children carried off by the Tartars in their excurſions, and bought of them by Salech. Of theſe he formed a regiment, out of which he took his principal officers, and they became at laſt ſo powerful, that they appropriated to themſelves the right of chuſing their ſovereign. The deputies of the two military orders acquainted ſultan Salech with the occaſion of their embaſſy, and propoſed entering into a negotiation for the ranſom and liberty of their brethren. But the ſultan, who had made a ſecret and ſtrict alliance with the emperor Frederic, and beſides knew very well how odious the knights of both orders were to him, "God forbid, "ſays he to his miniſters, that I ſhould treat with "ſuch a perfidious ſet of men, that would formerly "have delivered up their emperor; and though they "call one another brethren and companions in arms, "have yet, for five years paſt, when ever they met, "fallen upon one another, with more rage and fury "than they ſhew againſt the enemies of their law. Do "not we know, adds that prince, what little ſtreſs is "to be laid on the words of the templars, and that "they were the knights, who, out of antipathy to "the hoſpitallers, violated the truce which I had "made with the king of England's brother, whom "the templars, by way of contempt, called that little "boy? And yet, in the late battle, we ſaw theſe very "templars, thoſe proud and arrogant natures, aban"don themſelves to a ſhameful flight; and, what ne"ver happened in their order before, he that bore "beauſean, or ſtandard of the croſs, in contempt of "his duty, and the rules of his inſtitution, was the "firſt that fled. But this is not the only point in "which the templars and hoſpitallers have for a "long time, without any ſcruple, broken the ſtatutes "of their profeſſion. Whence is it, for inſtance, that "theſe knights, who by their laws ought at moſt to "part with only their capuce, or their girdle, for "their ranſom, now offer us ſuch great ſums, but to "fortify themſelves by their number againſt our

"power?

" power? No, go and tell them, that since the di-
" vine justice has delivered them into my hands, they
" shall never be set at liberty as long as I live; and
" that, following the example of their predecessors,
" I can make no difference between a knight that is
" a prisoner, and a knight dead upon the field of
" battle."

IN vain did the sultan's ministers remonstrate to him, that he would lose, by this resolution, very considerable sums, which he might have for the liberty of the knights. That infidel prince, who was no stranger to the differences between the emperor and the pope, and knew to what a degree the knights were devoted to the holy see, rejected with obstinacy and contempt all the offers they could make him. The deputies were obliged to go back as they came, without being able to persuade the sultan to any degree of compliance; but before their departure, complaining to that prince's ministers of the great expence they had been at to no purpose in presents, of which they had the benefit, those ministers, to make them in a manner some sort of amends, told them, as a secret, that there was but one way to procure the prisoners their liberty, which was, by the emperor's desiring it of the sultan: from whence it is easy to infer, says Matthew Paris [a], the strict amity there was between Frederic and the Mahometan prince. But as the deputies, on the other hand, were sensible that the emperor was in war with the pope, and that their superiors could have no correspondence with that prince, who was actually under sentence of excommunication, they returned home with grief at leaving their brethren in captivity with the infidels.

ST. LOUIS, after he had made a resolution to march into the east, spent two years in regulating all affairs within his kingdom, and in securing it from abroad by a general peace with his neighbours. This prince, after discharging those first and most indispensable duties

[a] Ex cujus tenore colligi potest quanta familiaritas Fredericum cum sultanis copulavit. p. 608.

ties of a ſovereign, went to St. Denis on June 12th, A. D. 1248, attended by Robert count of Artois, and Charles duke of Anjou, his brothers, and received there from Eudes de Chateauroux, the pope's legate, the oriflame, a ſort of ſtandard like a banner, with the alms, purſe, and the ſtaff, according to the uſual practice of pilgrims. Alphonſus, count of Poictiers, the king's third brother, though he had put on the croſs, ſtaid ſome time longer in France, with queen Blanche their mother, whom the king left regent of the kingdom in his abſence. Louis embarked afterwards at Aiguemortes, a famous port at that time, but now an inland town, four leagues from the ſea, which is ſince retired to that diſtance. He ſet ſail Auguſt 28th, with a favourable wind, and arrived happily in the road of Limiſſo, in the iſland of Cyprus, on September 17th, the ſame year. He was received there by Henry de Luſignan king of the iſle, upon whom the pope, to be revenged on the emperor, and prince Conrad his ſon, had lately conferred the title of king of Jeruſalem, under colour of the pretended rights of queen Alice his mother.

The king of France, after refreſhing himſelf a few days, being impatient to ſignalize his zeal, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſail for Egypt. He was ſeconded in this motion by ſome noblemen, who were concerned in the laſt cruſades, and repreſented to him, that if he ſtaid longer in the iſle of Cyprus, he would expoſe himſelf and his army to all the inconveniencies of a country, where the water and air were equally dangerous to ſtrangers: whereas Egypt afforded at once proper conquests to make, and every thing that was neceſſary for life. But the king could not follow his own inclination, by reaſon that part of his army was not yet arrived; beſides the king of Cyprus offered to accompany him with all the gentry of the iſland, if he would allow them the neceſſary time to prepare for ſuch an expedition: ſo the term of their departure was fixed for the ſpring following.

THE

[a] Sanut, l. 2. p. 2. c. 3.

THE pious king employed his ſtay very uſefully in making up the diviſion, which a ſpirit of jealouſy occaſioned between the templars and the hoſpitallers; and he terminated at the ſame time the differences between Hayton, king of the Leſſer Armenia, and Bohemund V. prince of Antioch and Tripoli. 'Twas during the king's ſtay in the iſle of Cyprus, that the grand maſter of the temple, and the marſhal of the order of the hoſpitallers, impatient to procure the diſcharge of their knights, that were in the hands of the infidels, wrote to that prince to feel his pulſe, whether he was diſpoſed to enter into an accommodation with the ſultan of Egypt. The holy king, burning with zeal, rejected the propoſal with indignation, and forbade the grand maſter, on pain of his diſpleaſure, ever to make him the like again. The grand maſter's enemies gave out, that there was a ſecret correſpondence between him and the infidel prince, and that for the cloſer cementing a friendſhip between them, they had cauſed themſelves to be blooded in the ſame porenger, as if the mixture of their blood would unite their hearts the more firmly to each other. We ſhall not enter into a diſcuſſion of the truth of this laſt fact, which does not appear very probable, eſpecially after the rough manner in which the ſultan had rejected the grand maſter's embaſſadors. We ſhall only obſerve, after the Sire de Joinville, that in the treaties of peace and alliance, made at that time with the barbarians, they inſiſted upon this ceremony of being let blood together, mixing their blood with wine, and even of drinking it ſo. This was practiſed between Baldwin II. and a king of Comania, as the ſeignior de Toucy, an eye-witneſs, affirmed to St. Louis[a]. But there is not the leaſt probability, that the ſultan, who had juſt before refuſed to treat about the ranſom of the knights, ſhould preſently after make a new alliance with the grand maſter of the temple; 'tis much more reaſonable to think, that the military orders, upon whom the burden of defending Paleſtine lay continually,

[a] Joinville, p. 94.

ally, would have been glad the truce had not been broken, nor a powerful enemy and neighbour provoked, under pretence of a new cruſade, which, like moſt of the reſt, after ſome ſlight efforts, would abandon the eaſt, return into France, and leave the whole weight of the war to be ſuſtained by the knights, and the poor remnant of Latin Chriſtians that dwelt in Paleſtine.

THE king paid very little regard to the repreſentations of the grand maſter; ſo that after eight months ſtay in the iſle of Cyprus, he embarked with the queen his wife, the counteſs of Anjou, the king of Cyprus, prince Robert, and Charles his brothers, the legate, and all the perſons of quality, on Trinity Sunday, A. D. 1249; all the fleet ſet ſail, and on the ſixth day arrived before Damiata. The two grand maſters repaired thither afterwards, with the choiceſt of their knights. Louis found the bank lined with the ſultan's troops, which pretended to oppoſe his landing; but that prince, tranſported with zeal and courage, threw himſelf firſt into the water ſword in hand, and being followed by his nobles and gentry, charged the infidels, and put them to flight. The fugitives carried terror and conſternation with them into the city, and though that place was reckoned the ſtrongeſt in all Egypt, yet the garriſon abandoned it, and the inhabitants, loading themſelves with their moſt valuable effects, ſtole out by night, after firſt ſetting fire to the city, and fled for refuge into the higher Egypt. It was not long before they had an account of this general deſertion: two ſlaves of the infidels gave them notice about 8 o'clock in the morning, that the city was abandoned. The king, after taking the neceſſary precautions to be aſſured of the truth of ſo ſurprizing an event, made his entry into the place, at the head of his troops; the legate purified the principle Moſque, where Te Deum was afterwards ſung with great ſolemnity. The queen, the legate, the patriarch and the biſhops, fixed their abode in this city, and the king, fearing the conſequences of the Nile's inundation, and inſtruct-

ed by the misfortunes which the legate Pelagius's obſtinacy had brought upon the army of John de Brienne, and the troops of the cruſade, reſolved to paſs the reſt of the ſummer there, the exceſſive heats of that ſeaſon not allowing an army in that country to keep the field.

ALPHONSUS count of Poitiers, the king's brother, whom that prince had left in France, embarked the twenty ſixth of Auguſt, with the princeſs Jane his wife, only daughter of Raimond count of Tholouſe, and they arrived two months after at Damiata. The count of Poitiers landed with a ſtrong reinforcement call-d by Joinville the arriere-ban of France[a], the arrival of which augmented the king's zeal and courage. That prince law himſelf at the head of a mighty army, ſuſtained by the two military orders, who knew the country, and the method of making war among the infidels; the ſea was open, the mouth of of the Nile free for the receiving of new ſuccours, and terror and conſternation ſeemed to have ſeized the enemy.

THE only point was to determine, whether they ſhould go and attack them in Alexandria, or in grand Cairo itſelf. Peter de Dreux, the old count of Bretagne, was of opinion, that they ſhould turn their arms firſt againſt Alexandria, the port whereof would be of a great advantage for the fleet and convoys; but the count of Artois declared himſelf for the ſiege of grand Cairo, out of a notion that the taking of the capital would be attended with the ſurrender of other places, whereas the reducing of Alexandria would not, he ſaid, exempt the army from forming afterwards the ſiege of Cairo. This reaſon prevailed, or perhaps the obſtinacy and haughtineſs with which that prince uſually maintained his opinion[b]. Grand Cairo was about fifty leagues from Damiata, and about the mid way they were to paſs by the town of Maſſoure, where the infidels were intrenched on the banks of a branch of the Nile, called the Thanis.

THE

[a] Joinville, p. 25.
[b] Joinville, p. 27.

THE king marched from Damiata, at the head of his army on November 20th, and upon the road received advice of the ſultan's death, occaſioned by a gangrene in one of his legs. But the common people, who will never allow that princes die like other men, or of ordinary deaths, reported, that he was poiſoned by a valet de chambre, bribed for that purpoſe by the ſultan of Damaſcus, his enemy. But be that as it will, the army marched on continually, without meeting indeed any oppoſition in their march, but withal without finding any proviſions in the neighbourhood. The country was deſerted and abandoned; a profound ſolitude reigned on all ſides, and there was no appearance of any enemy in the field. This tranquillity did not laſt long; as the Chriſtians drew near to Maſſoure, they were infeſted day and night with skirmiſhes. Every day produced a new engagement, and they narrowly eſcaped the treachery of ſome Saracens, who pretending to be deſerters, had like to have ſurprized the templars [a]. Five hundred Egyptian horſe, under ſome pretence or other, coming to ſubmit themſelves to the king, that prince received them, and having no miſtruſt, left them together in a body: they marched too generally in the van, as knowing the country better than the weſtern troops. The army, after a month's march, drew near the arm of the Nile, which is called Thanis, when theſe traitors ſeeing a ſquadron of the templars farther advanced than the reſt, drew their ſcymiters, and charged them ſuddenly. But they had to do with warriors that were never frighted at the number of their enemies: the ſquadron ſtood their ground, the knights fought with their uſual valour, and gave time for their comrades to come up to their ſuccour. The infidels were ſoon ſurrounded on all ſides; the traitors were cut in pieces, all died by the ſword, except ſuch as attempting to croſs the Thanis to join their army, were drowned in that canal.

[a] Joinville, p. 35.

THE king, foreſeeing that the difficulty of the paſſage might detain him a long while in that angle, which is formed by two arms of the Nile, took care to fortify his camp there. This precaution was neceſſary againſt enemies, who advanced every hour to attack him even in his intrenchments. As he had a large, deep, and unfordable channel, the king attempted to raiſe a bank or cauſeway, but the infidels continually interrupted his work by their wildfire, which burnt his machines [a]. At laſt an Arabian, a Bedouin, for the ſum of five hundred beſans of gold, ſhewed him a ford [b], upon which the count of Artois deſired leave of the king to paſs over firſt; and in order to obtain it, engaged, provided he had the templars and hoſpitallers with him, to ſecure the paſſage for the reſt of the army. The king, fearing the young prince ſhould truſt too much to his courage, and thro' an eager deſire of glory, ſhould engage himſelf too far among the enemies, made him ſwear upon the goſpels, that he would attempt nothing, till the whole army was paſſed; and for the greater precaution, he ordered that the templars and hoſpitallers, when they were on the other ſide, ſhould lead the van, and be put at the head of all the troops that were to march under the count his brother's orders.

THAT prince, at break of day, ſet out for the ford, at the head of about one thouſand four hundred horſe, compoſed of the templars and hoſpitallers, and two hundred Engliſh knights, commanded by William earl of Salisbury, who was come at their head to the ſuccour of the Holy Land. All theſe troops following the Bedouin for their guide, threw themſelves into the water with a reſolute courage. The deſcent was eaſy, and the bottom firm and ſolid: but there was more difficulty in getting out at the place of landing, by reaſon that the bank was ſteep, and of a great height. The count of Artois, with his troop, landed the firſt in ſpite of three hundred horſe of the enemies that were

[a] Joinville. p. 41.
[b] Matt. Paris. p. 789.

were minded to oppoſe his paſſage. He charged them at his landing, and as there was no equality in the match, the Saracens, as ſoon as they ſaw him over, disbanded, and ran galloping back to their camp.

THE count, forgetting the oath and the word he had given the king his brother, purſued them ſword in hand, though the two grand maſters cried out to him, that this flight was perhaps only a uſual ſtratagem of the oriental nations. But Robert, who liſtened to nothing but his courage, arrived as ſoon as the fugitives at the enemies camp, ſurprized them, forced their intrenchments, broke into their camp, and, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance that Facardin, general of the Saracens, who died in this action, could make, the infidels concluding, that the whole Chriſtian army had broke into their camp, fled, ſome of them towards Cairo, whilſt others threw themſelves into Maſſoure, and not judging it ſafe there, haſtened away to a greater diſtance, without daring to rally, till they thought themſelves far enough not to be ſeen by the enemy.

NOTHING could have been wanting to ſo glorious and ſurprizing a ſucceſs, if the count had known how to be ſatisfied with it[a]. But the ſight of Maſſoure, ſet open and abandoned both by the enemy, and moſt of its inhabitants, was a fatal charm which prevailed over all the remonſtrances that William de Sonnac, grand maſter of the templars, could make: he was abſolutely reſolved to continue the purſuit. In vain did that old warrior repreſent to him, that he owed his victory, and the defeat of the infidels, only to a panic terror, and to their being perſuaded, that the whole Chriſtian army had croſſed the river, and was preſent in the action; that he ſhould be careful not to undeceive them; for as ſoon as they diſcovered the ſmall number of his troops, they would rally as uſual, return to the charge, and hem him in on all ſides. The young prince, naturally haughty, and now more elated by this beginning of Feb. 8.

[a] Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1250.

victory, cried out in a paſſion, "We need no other "proofs, but this artful diſcourſe of the correſpon- "dence which they ſay the templars hold with the "infidels; here I plainly ſee their treachery, and the "ſeditious temper of the hoſpitallers. It is not with- "out reaſon that we have ſo long been told, that they "alone, to make themſelves always neceſſary, and to "drain the weſt of its money, hinder the war from "being brought to an end: this is the true cauſe of "the loſs of ſo many princes and lords that have en- "gaged in the cruſades[a], whom they have either poi- "ſoned, or ſuffered to periſh in battle, for fear of "ſeeing themſelves ſubject to the dominion of the "weſtern princes: and who is there that can be a "ſtranger to the difficulty which the emperor Frede- "ric had to eſcape their ſnares and ambuſhes[b]?"

THE two grand maſters, and the knights in gene- ral, enraged at theſe reproaches, replied, "How! "great prince, do you think that we have abandon- "ed our fortunes and our country, that we have ta- "ken the religious habit in a ſtrange land, and that "we daily expoſe our lives only to betray the Chri- "ſtian church, and renounce our own ſalvation? Be "aſſured, a thought ſo unworthy of a Chriſtian ne- "ver entered into the mind of any knight[c]." The grand maſter de Sonnac, tranſported with reſentment, cried out to the ſtandard-bearer of the order, "Diſ- "play your banner; arms and death muſt this day "decide our honour and our deſtiny: we were in- "vincible, added he, had we continued united, but "a ſpirit of diviſion is going to be the deſtruction of "both."

THE earl of Salisbury was for interpoſing to bring them to temper, and, directing his diſcourſe to the French prince, "I believe, moſt ſerene count, ſays "he

[a] Vide chron. Nangis ad an. 1249.

[b] Id ibid. p. 790.

[c] Ut quod, comes generoſe, habitum ſuſciperemus religionis? Nunquid ut eccleſiam Chriſti everteremus, et proditionibus intendentes animas noſtras perderemus? Abſit hoc a nobis, imo ab omni Chriſtiano. Matt. Paris. p. 790.

" he to him, that you cannot err in following the ad-
" vice of ſo holy a man, and one of ſuch a conſum-
" mate knowledge in the art of war, as the grand ma-
" ſter; and young perſons will never ſuffer any diſ-
" honour by depending on a man of his age and me-
" rit." But the Engliſh lord was treated with as much indignity as the grand maſter; and the count of Artois anſwered this wiſe and reaſonable diſcourſe in a taunting manner. All this, cried the prince, ſmells of the tail, alluding to a current report at that time, that the Engliſh, by way of puniſhment for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, had tails clapped to their backſide. Count Robert, replies the Engliſh earl, with indignation, " I'll go ſuch a length of
" danger to day, that you ſhall not come near ſo
" much as my horſe's tail." And, upon ſaying theſe words, they all puſhed forward immediately like madmen, without following any orders or advice but what their paſſion and rage ſuggeſted. They entered all into Maſſoure, which they found open: ſome ſtopped there to plunder, others advanced on, and endeavoured to come up with the Saracens; but thoſe infidels were already rallied under one of their leaders, called Bendocdar, a brave officer, equally a ſoldier and a general, who afterwards raiſed himſelf by his courage and capacity to the throne of his maſters. This general, ſeeing the ſmall number of the French, attacked them again, and put them to flight in his turn. The count of Artois was obliged to throw himſelf into Maſſoure, and was immediately inveſted there; and, to prevent his eſcape, Bendocdar, after ſecuring the gates, poſted a conſiderable body of troops between the town and the Thanis, to prevent the king's advancing to the ſuccour of his brother. That young prince, whoſe courage had hurried him into danger, was attacked at the ſame time by the regular troops, and by the inhabitants of Maſſoure: the one engaged the French in the ſtreets, and the others ſhowered down upon them ſtones, burning coals, boiling water, and arrows from the tops of the houſes; ſo that

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the count of Artois, the earl of Salisbury, and moſt of the knights of both orders, periſhed in that unfortunate action; ſcarce a man eſcaped but the grand maſter of the Temple, who, after loſing an eye, and being covered all over with wounds, made his way back to the Chriſtian army. The Saracens took ſome priſoners, among which was the grand maſter of St. John. The king himſelf had no better fortune. After various actions, wherein he loſt abundance of men, the French, exceedingly weakened by diſeaſes and want of proviſions, were, in their retreat to Damiata, ſurrounded, and overpowered by the prodigious numbers of the barbarians. The king of France, Alphonſus count of Poitiers, and Charles count of Anjou his brothers, with all the nobility, were taken priſoners.

As I am not writing the hiſtory of that prince, I do not think myſelf obliged to dwell upon the detail and circumſtances of this diſmal event, whereby a king ſo powerful, wiſe, and vailant, was expoſed as a ſpectacle to all the world, and as a moſt deplorable inſtance of the misfortunes of mankind. He obtained his liberty from theſe barbarians, upon reſtoring Damiata, and paying eight hundred thouſand beſants, for the ranſom of the priſoners, the greateſt part of which ſum was advanced by the hoſpitallers and templars *.

His intention at leaving Egypt was to return immediately into France; but the grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars made ſo lively a repreſentation to him of the miſerable condition of the Holy Land, and of the danger it was in of falling again into the hands of the infidels, that he reſolved to continue ſome time in St. John d'Acre, in order to repair the fortifications of thoſe other towns that the Chriſtians were ſtill maſters of.

DURING

* Poſtquam pecuniæ prætentatæ quantitatem, quam mutuo receperat a templariis et hoſpitalariis, Januenſibus et Piſanis penitus reaeceptis obſidibus, perſolviſſet. Matt. Paris. p. 799.

DURING his ſtay there, the prince of Aſſaſſins, whom the French call the ancient, or rather the ſeignior of the mountain, and whom we have ſpoken of before, ſent two deputies to demand of him the preſents which that vile captain of banditti uſed to exact from princes, by way of tribute, for not aſſaſſinating them. " The emperor of Ger- " many, ſays one of theſe envoys to him, the king " of Hungary, the ſultan of Egypt, and all other " princes, have not failed to make him this acknow- " ledgment, knowing well that they ſhould live " no longer than our prince pleaſed[a]: he gives you " notice therefore, to ſubmit like them to the ſame " cuſtom, or at leaſt to procure him a diſcharge of " the tribute which he pays to the grand maſters of " the temple and hoſpital." They were asked, ſays Joinville, why they did not make away with the two grand maſters, who forced them to pay that tribute. " If our lord, replied they, ſhould cauſe one of theſe " grand maſters to be killed, there will ſoon be ano- " ther as good in his room, and therefore he will not " expoſe his men to danger, where nothing is to be " got by it.". The king, diſdaining to give an an- ſwer to ſuch barbarians, ſent them to the two grand maſters; and Peter de Villebride, who underſtood their language, and knew how to deal with theſe banditti, taking upon him to be the ſpokeſman; " Your maſter, ſays he to them, is very bold to offer " ſuch propoſals to a king of France; if we had not " a reſpect for your character as envoys, we would " have you thrown this moment into the ſea; get " you gone, and tell the ſeignior of the mountain, that " if he does not, in fifteen days time, ſend the king " letters, to acknowledge and make ſatisfaction for " his inſolence, he will have the knights of the two " orders upon his back." 1251.

The apprehenſion of their reſentment made him afraid, who uſed to make the generality of monarchs tremble: he ſent back within the fifteen days the ſame deputies,

[a] Joinville. p. 85. et 86.

deputies, who brought the king, in his name, a ſhirt, to ſignify that he would be attached to him as cloſely as a ſhirt ſticks to an human body; and they preſented him at the ſame time a gold ring, in which the name of their maſter was engraved, which very probably he ſent him as a protection.

THE Sire de Joinville, from whom I have taken this paſſage, relates another, which is indeed much leſs conſiderable, and even inſignificant enough, if any thing can be ſo that is uſeful to give us a right notion of the diſcipline of the order in thoſe antient times. That lord, in the life he has left us of St. Louis, writes, that whilſt he attended upon the king in the town of Acre, ſome French gentlemen and knights, who were come into the Holy Land under his banner, going not far from the town, to hunt antelops, a ſort of wild goat, common in that country, they were met by ſome hoſpitallers, and a diſpute
1251. ariſing about the game, they came to blows, and the French were ſeverely handled.

THE lord of Joinville complained immediately to the grand maſter; 'twas William de Chateauneuf, whom we mentioned before, a Frenchman by nation, an old knight, a rigid obſerver of the regular diſcipline, who, after paſſing through all the offices of the order, had lately ſucceeded brother Peter de Villebride. This new grand maſter, having examined into the affair, condemned his knights to eat in the refectory on the ground upon their mantles, according to the cuſtom and practice, ſays Joinville, of the Holy Land; and he adds, "I "was there preſent with the knights, and we deſired "the maſter to make the brothers get up off their "mantles, which he refuſed; but at laſt we forced "him to it, for we ſeated ourſelves upon the ground "by them, in order to eat with them; but they would "not ſuffer it; nay, they were obliged to get up from "us, to go and eat with the other brothers at the "table,

WILLIAM DE CHATEAUNEUF.

" table, leaving us their mantles, probably by way of " ſatisfaction and reparation."

THEY kept a profound ſilence in the refectories of the order, pious and edifying leſſons ſupplied the place of converſation, and it was owing only to the inſtances and remonſtrances of brother Rambault, prior of Hungary, that pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, permitted the hoſpitallers of that nation to break ſilence in the refectory, whenever they were obliged to receive any ſecular perſons, eminent for their birth or dignities.

SUCH was the regular diſcipline of this order, at the time that St. Louis was ſummoned back into France, by the death of queen Blanche, his mother, regent of the kingdom in his abſence. That prince, after fortifying St. John d'Acre, rebuilding Saide, Cæſarea and Jaffa, and leaving a conſiderable ſuccour of troops and money in the country, embarked on April 24th 1254, fraught with the bleſſings and prayers of all the people; and, after having been equally the admiration of the Saracens and of the Chriſtians, for his valour in action, and an invincible conſtancy under his misfortunes. 1254.

WATEVER expence that holy king had been at, and whatever precautions he had taken to put the few places left the Chriſtians in the Holy Land into a ſtate of defence, the pope, being juſtly alarmed at his departure, recommended the preſervation thereof, in a particular manner, to the hoſpitallers; and, to engage them to it the more, he not only confirmed all the privileges granted by his predeceſſors to the order, but alſo under a notion of recompenſing the eſſential ſervices they were continually doing to all Chriſtendom, he beſtowed upon them the monaſtery of mount Thabor, built upon that mountain in the manner of a fortreſs, with the caſtle of Bethany, where queen Meliſenda, wife of king Fulk of Anjou, had formerly founded a convent for nuns, who, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, had retired into Europe.

IF we conſider the ſituation of the places, and the neighbourhood of the Sarazens, theſe grants were not ſo much favours as engagements to freſh perils. The grand maſter, without any regard to the dangerous ſituation of thoſe places, put ſeveral detachments of his knights into them. He afterwards fortified the caſtle of Crac, in the county of Tripoli, which had for a conſiderable time belonged to the order; and as the grand maſter's only view was to repreſs the inroads of the infidels, he put a hundred knights, with ſome troops in pay of the order, into the caſtle of Aſſur, which ſerved as a frontier garriſon, in reſpect of the lands which the Saracens poſſeſſed in Paleſtine.

CARES, ſo becoming his dignity, and the valour of his knights, could not fail of the juſteſt encomiums, if theſe knights and the templars had not at that time, in contempt of the duties of their profeſſion, and the laws of Chriſtianity, turned their arms againſt one another. Their old animoſities revived; whether ſtrong or weak, they attacked one another where ever they met. In fine, theſe two bodies, ſo formidable to the infidels, came to a ſort of battle and general engagement. The fortune of war proved noways favourable to the templars; not a man was taken priſoner, but the hoſpitallers cut in pieces all that came within the reach of their ſwords: ſcarce, ſays the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian*, was there left a templar to carry the news of their defeat to the reſt of their order. The remnant of the templars in the Holy Land, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to revenge the diſgrace, ſent a general ſummons to their brethren in the weſt; and, what is moſt ſurpriſing in this civil war, as it may be called, where matters were carried to ſuch a height of fury and malicious reſentment, is, that, excepting the frequent battles and encounters occaſioned by the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding ſo long ſubſiſting between them,

* Concitante enim humani generis hoſte, imbutos mutuo odio ex inſana æmulatione concepto animos, hoſpitalarii tantam templariorum ſtragem ediderunt, ut vix acceptæ cladis nuntius ſupereſſet. Rain. ad. ann. 1259. n. 61.

them, there was ſtill kept up in their houſes the ſame ſpirit of charity to the poor and pilgrims, and the ſame zeal for the defence of the Chriſtians of Paleſtine. It were to have been wiſhed their emulation had never taken another turn.

THE grand maſter de Chateauneuf died about this time, and upon his death was ſucceeded by brother Hugh de Revel, of a noble family in Dauphiny, upon which he reflected a new luſtre by his wiſe conduct in the government. During the eighteen years that he was grand maſter, the order was put under a new regulation with regard to its temporalities. We have obſerved, that all the eſtates of the order were managed by knights that were accountable for the profits, and, after taking what was neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtence, were obliged to remit the reſt to the ſupreme houſe and treaſury of the order. But as the expences of theſe adminiſtrators often ſwallowed up the whole income, and beſides, the order, to provide ſupplies for the immenſe charge of a continual war, ſtood in need of a fixed and certain revenue, they reſolved, in a general chapter held at Cæſarea, upon a rate of the ſums which each houſe was to ſend to the Holy Land, and pay into the treaſury; and becauſe in the obediences and commiſſions given afterwards to the knights intruſted with this adminiſtration, they made uſe of this expreſſion: "We recommend theſe "eſtates to you;" Commendamus,* &c. This particular adminiſtration of each houſe was ſtiled Commendataria; from whence came the name of commandery, and the title of commander.

1260. HUGH DE REVEL.

YET this title was not then given for life; it might be ſuperſeded, and was ſubſtituted inſtead of that of preceptor, which had been made uſe of till that time.

THESE commandries were afterwards ranged under different priories. The prior was obliged to overſee them, and ſend to the Holy Land, either in troops or money,

* Pantaleon hiſt. l. 3. p. 82.

money, the ordinary contributions of each commandery within his priory, which were ſtiled Reſponſions, and might be raiſed according to the occaſions of the order, and purſuant to the regulations and decrees of the general chapter.

THE chapter then held at Cæſarea, to inforce this principle of not converting the revenues of the order to a private uſe; a principle founded upon the vow of poverty, to which all the knights had bound themſelves, forbade them to make wills, to appoint heirs, or bequeath any legacies. By this ſtatute they were not ſo much as allowed to leave by will any extraordinary gratification to their ſervants, without the expreſs conſent of the grand maſter. Such was the diſcipline of the order at that time, neceſſary indeed, not only in regard to their vow of poverty, but likewiſe on account of the continual wars which the order was engaged in againſt the infidels. We are now going to enter upon times ſtill more diſmal, wherein theſe military ſiers continued to give new proofs of their zeal and valour.

BENDOCDAR, who had ſo eminent a ſhare in the defeat of Robert count of Artois, reigned at that time in Egypt: he was the fourth of the Mamalucks that had been raiſed to the throne; and he got poſſeſſion of it by the death of Melech-Elvahet, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, under pretence that the ſultan would not break the truce which he had made with the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine.

BENDOCDAR being choſen to ſucceed him by the Mamalucks, ſignalized his acceſſion to the
1263. crown by a bloody war which he made upon the Chriſtians, and particularly upon the knights of the two orders*. The ſultan of Babylon, ſays pope Urban IV. writing to St. Louis, is come, contrary to the faith of treaties, to encamp between mount Thabor and Naim, and his troops, in hatred of the Chriſtian name, deſtroy all with fire and ſword up to the gates of Acre: he has demoliſhed the church

* Rain. ad. ann. 1263. n. 1, 2.

church of Nazareth, and that of mount Thabor. His ſoldiers kill indifferently all that they meet, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The fate of ſuch as die by the ſword of the Barbarians is now no longer to be lamented; there are no ſorts of torments but they inflict them on their priſoners, to force them to change their religion.

THE ſultan reſolving to drive the Chriſtians entirely out of Paleſtine, laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Aſſur,[a] which belonged to the order of the hoſpitallers. It was one of the ſtrongeſt places in Paleſtine, and the grand maſter, beſides the garriſon, had put ninety knights into it, who were all killed one after another in the ſeveral attacks; and when the ſultan at laſt entered, it was over the corpſe of theſe in- 1265.
trepid knights, who died on the breach, and gloryings in their obedience, received the enemy with pleaſure, and went joyfully to their death.

THE templars met with no better treatment in the year following, nor did they ſhew themſelves leſs valiant and faithful to their religion. They were in poſſeſſion of another fortreſs called Sephet. Bendocdar beſieged it, and after an obſtinate defence, the prior of the temple, who was governor of it, ſeeing all his works ruined, was obliged to capitulate. It was ſtipulated by the capitulation, that he ſhould be conveyed with his knights and the reſt of his garriſon, which ſtill made ſix hundred men, to the neareſt place belonging to the Chriſtians. But the ſultan, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter of Sephet, cauſed them all to be diſarmed, and allowed them only till the next night to reſolve either to die, or turn Mahometans. The prior of the temple, who was a holy monk, aſſiſted by two Franciſcans, employed that little time ſo well, and exhorted his brethren and ſoldiers with ſo much zeal and piety, to prefer a crown of martyrdom before a momentary life, diſhonoured by a ſhameful apoſtaſy, that they all the next day readily offered themſelves to the ſlaughter, rather than change their

[a] Sanut. l. 3. par. 12. c. 8.

religion. The ſultan, provoked at their firmneſs, and at the conſtancy of the prior of the temple, after having tempted him in vain with the offers of riches and honours, ordered him to be flayed alive[a], and, as if he was afraid he might ſurvive ſo horrible a torture, commanded his head to be chopped off. He inflicted the ſame torments on the two Franciſcan friars that had ſerved as chaplains in the place. "By the death "of ſo many knights of both orders, ſays pope Cle- "ment IV. in one of his letters, the noble college of "the hoſpitallers, and the illuſtrious militia of the "temple, are almoſt deſtroyed; and not to inſiſt on "the loſs of theſe two fortreſſes, and of the arms and "equipages of the knights, how ſhall we be able, "after this, to find gentlemen and perſons of quality "enough to ſupply the places of ſuch as have periſh- "ed on theſe two occaſions?"

THOUGH the contemporary hiſtorians, from the time of the twelfth century, gave the title of grand to the maſter of the hoſpitallers, as may be ſeen in this hiſtory, yet the popes, either in conformity to ancient uſage, or on account of their own ſupreme dignity, never ſpoke of the ſuperior general in any higher terms, that that of maſter of the hoſpitallers of St. John. 'Twas pope Clement IV. whom we 1267. have juſt now mentioned, that in a thorough ſenſe of the ſervices of the hoſpitallers, gave their head the title of grand maſter. as may be ſeen in a brief of that pontiff, bearing date November 18th A. D. 1267; and this pope in another bull adds, "The brothers of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſa- "lem ought to be regarded as the Maccabees of the "new teſtament. Thoſe noble knights have gene- "rouſly renounced the pleaſures of the world, and a- "bandoned their country, and eſtates and fortunes, "to take up the croſs, and put themſelves under the "banner

[a] Poſt hos vero fratrem Jacobum de Podio et fratrem Jeremiam, quia cæteros in fide firmaverant, et priorem templariorum excoriari fecerunt, deinde fuſtigari, poſtremo ad locum cæterorum deducti capite cæſi ſunt. Sanut. ib.

" banner of Jeſus Chriſt; they are the inſtruments " which the ſaviour of mankind makes uſe of daily " to purge his church of the abominations of the in- " fidels, and they bravely expoſe their lives to the " greateſt dangers, for the defence of pilgrims and " Chriſtians." Thus does the pope expreſs himſelf in his bull, dated from Viterbo, on the fourth of the kalends of June, and in the firſt year of his pontificate. 1269.

BUT how honourable ſoever theſe elogiums and titles were, the Holy Land, and the orders in particular, preſſed and overwhelmed in a manner by the formidable power of Bendocdar, ſtood in need of ſomething more effectual for their ſuccour than barren praiſes. The ſultan improving the conſternation the Chriſtians were in, had lately reduced Jaffa; and ſome days after he took the caſtle of Beaufort. But the moſt important conqueſt that he made, was that of the famous city of Antioch, which did not coſt him ſo much as the trouble and expence of a ſiege. He became maſter of it, by the treaſon of the patriarch, others ſay, by the cowardice of the inhabitants: They did not however meet with any better treatment; whether the ſultan delighted in blood, or was minded to leſſen the number of Chriſtian inhabitants in that great city, he put ſeventeen thouſand of them to the ſword, and carried off an hundred thouſand into ſlavery. March 7. 1268. April 15. May 19.

BENDOCDAR after this turned his arms againſt the fortreſs of Crac, which belonged to the order of St. John. The knights held out near two months, againſt all the power of that prince, like their brethren that defended Aſſur; and rejecting all motions of capitulation, they died upon the breach, nor did the ſultan enter the place till the laſt of theſe noble warriors was ſlain.

SUCH was the condition of the Holy Land, without a ſovereign, without an army, without ſuccour, without any reſource in nature, but the military orders, who were overwhelmed by 1270.

the prodigious armies of the infidels. I would willingly draw a veil over theſe diſmal paſſages, if the laws of hiſtory did not oblige me to relate equally events of different natures, and bad ſucceſs as well as the good.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe continual wars, and amidſt the noiſe of arms, the grand maſter, who was as intent on keeping up the regular diſcipline, as on the defence of the places entruſted to the valour of his knights, called and held no leſs than five general chapters, where he made ſeveral very uſeful regulations, and confirmed at the ſame time the ancient uſages of the order, among which we find, that for the admiſſion of a knight, it was neceſſary, that he ſhould be born in lawful wedlock, and be deſcended, both by the father and mother's ſide, of noble families, noble by arms, as well as name. The ſame condition was required likewiſe with regard to the nuns of the order; and in one of theſe chapters, the caſtellan of Empoſta was empowered to admit and receive the profeſſion of ſuch ladies as gave proof of their being truly called, and deſired to be received, as well in the priory of Sixenne, as in the other nunneries that depended on his caſtellany and priory. A decree paſſed in the ſame chapters, and under the grand maſterſhip of de Revel, againſt giving the habit to any monk who had been profeſſed in another order. In fine, by the regulations there made, the hoſpitallers could not chuſe any ſtrange confeſſors that were not of the order, without an expreſs permiſſion from the prior of the church; the ſuperior of their chaplains, who acted as biſhop and ordinary of the order, enjoying that authority in virtue of ſome papal conceſſions, and wearing the epiſcopal ornaments when he officiated.

FROM theſe monaſtic cares and regulations, the grand maſter paſſed to others of greater importance, concerning the preſervation and defence of the Holy Land; and in concert with the grand maſter of the templars, he made a truce with the ſultan of Egypt, in hopes of improving that ceſſation of arms to obtain ſuccours from the weſt, without which it was impoſſible

ble for the Latin Chriſtians to maintain their ground any longer in Paleſtine.

BOTH the grand maſters went thereupon into Italy, to ſolicite in a warmer and more effectual manner. The advancement of Thealde or Theobald, arch-deacon of Liege, to the throne of St. Peter, was the motive that determined them to take that voyage. The cardinals, after ſuffering the holy ſee to continue vacant for two years and nine months, without coming to any reſolution about the perſon to be appointed viſible head of the church, agreed at laſt in the choice of Theobald arch-deacon of Liege, of the noble houſe of Viſconti, and his piety having carried him, at that time, to the Holy Land, they ſent him the inſtrument of his election thither. There could not have been a better witneſs of the extremity and real neceſſities of the Chriſtians in that country. This holy pope was deeply affected with them, and, before his departure, promiſed the grand maſters to uſe all the authority which God had then given him in the church, for the procuring them ſuccours. It is ſaid, that as he went on board the ſhip that was to carry him into Italy, to confirm his promiſe, he broke out into this expreſſion of the one hundred and thirty ſixth pſalm; "O Jeruſa-"lem, holy city, if I ever forget thee, let me be blot-"ted out of the remembrance of Men."

'TWAS to this pontiff, who took the name of Gregory X. that the two grand maſters who followed ſoon after him applied themſelves upon their arrival in Italy. He had already prevented their inſtances and remonſtrances; for as ſoon as ever he landed, neglecting all the compliments of the cardinals and courtiers, he employed himſelf in nothing, for eight days together, but in finding out expedients and means to ſuccour the Holy Land. He immediately ſecured twelve gallies well manned, of which Piſa, Genoa, and Marſeilles, and Venice were to furniſh each of them three. To ſupply the charge of the war, he borrowed twenty five thouſand marks of ſilver, of Philip the Hardy, king of France, ſon of St. Louis, the templars mortgaging to

that

that prince all the lands which they poſſeſſed in his dominions, for the payment of the money[a].

THE two grand maſters arriving in Italy, heard, with great ſatisfaction, of the meaſures which the pope had already taken in favours of the Holy Land. However, after kiſſing his feet, they repreſented to him, that this ſuccour might indeed put off, for ſome time, the loſs of the few places which the Chriſtians had left; but that there muſt be a more conſiderable force, if he had any thoughts of driving the infidels entirely out of Paleſtine.

THE pope gave into their views, and after conferring with the cardinals on this ſubject, he called a general council at Lyons, as the ſureſt means of exciting the zeal of the faithful, and procuring a new cruſade. This we learn from a letter of that pontiff to Philip III. ſurnamed the Hardy, king of France. "During "the ſtay we made in the Holy Land, ſays Gregory "in his letter, we conferred with the leaders of the "Chriſtian army, with the templars and hoſpitallers, "and with the great men of the country, about the "means of preventing its total ruin. We have diſ- "courſed on the ſame ſubject ſince with our brethren "the cardinals, and we find that ſome relief muſt be "ſent away immediately in the gallies, till a more "conſiderable ſuccour can be raiſed, which we hope "to obtain by the meeting of a general council."

THIS council was not held till A. D. 1274. The pope was preſent there, and it was opened on 1274. May 2. He would have the two grand maſters appear alſo, to make a repreſentation in perſon of the deplorable condition of the Holy Land; and if we may believe an old manuſcript, entituled, The ceremonial of the cardinals, which is kept in the vatican library, number 4734, that pontiff aſſigned them an eminent place in the council, above all the embaſſadors, the peers of France, and other great lords that were come to this famous aſſembly.

'TIS

[a] Rainaldi ad an. 1272. n. 7 & 8.

'TIS not my buſineſs to relate what paſſed in the ſeveral ſeſſions of this council, I ſhall only obſerve that in the laſt it was reſolved, that the cruſade ſhould be preached up over all Chriſtendom, and to furniſh the vaſt expence that ſuch an armament required, a conſiderable tax was laid upon all eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, by way of tenths, payable in ſix years.

PHILIP king of France had already put on the croſs. Rodolph, who, of a private count of Hapsburg, had been, a little before, elected emperor of Germany, received the ſame from the hands of the pope; and Michael Palæologus, who had ſurprized Conſtantinople in A. D. 1261, in order to be acknowledged emperor by the weſtern princes, offered to join his forces to thoſe of the cruſade, and to put on the croſs himſelf. But no body did it with more zeal than Charles duke of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, and king of the two Sicilies, who laid claim to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, in virtue of a conveyance and ceſſion made him in this very council, by Mary princeſs of Antioch, daughter of Bohemund IV. and of the princeſs Meleſinda, though Hugh III. king of Cyprus maintained that the crown of Jeruſalem belonged to him, as deſcended in a right line from Alice of Champagne, daughter of Henry count of Champagne, and Iſabel, daughter of Amaury the third king of Jeruſalem. This prince was crowned king in the city of Tyre; and the king of Sicily on his ſide, till he could go in perſon to the Holy Land, to take poſſeſſion of the poor remnant of that miſerable kingdom, ſent Roger de St. Severin thither as his lieutenant. The barons of the kingdom were divided between the two pretenders; and the grand maſter of the templars, at his return from the council, declared himſelf for the king of Sicily. But the grand maſter de Revel, and the knights of St. John, continued neuter, agreeable to their rule and the ſtatutes of the order, proteſting, that they were not allowed to take up arms againſt any Chriſtian prince whatever. This conduct, though equally

equally wiſe and equitable, drew upon them the reſentment of Charles of Anjou, who ſeized all the effects and poſſeſſions of the order in his dominions.

BENDOCDAR would not have failed to make his advantage of theſe fatal diſſenſions which divided all the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine; but he die dabout this time, of a wound that he received in a battle, wherein he was defeated by the ſucceſſors of Genchizcan.

HISTORIANS aſſign the year following for the death of the grand maſter Hugh de Revel, who was
1278. worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, and with the terrible apprehenſions of thoſe deplorable calamities which he foreſaw muſt ſoon happen. The knights, aſſembling a chapter in their houſe of St. John d'Acre, choſe in his ſtead brother Nicholas Lorgue, a knight of a good natured and inſinuating temper, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours, during his adminiſtration, to put an end to the diviſions between the Knights of his own order and thoſe of the temple.

NICHOLAS LORGUE.

THOUGH the truce which the two grand maſters had made with Bendocdar, before their departure for the Weſt, was ſtill in force, a captain of Melec-Sais, his ſucceſſor, either by ſecret orders from his maſter, or out of a pillaging humour, made incurſions notwithſtanding, and ravaged the country up to the gates of Margat, a fortreſs belonging to the knights of St. John.

THE knights, ſurprized at this inroad in a time of truce, ſallied out of the place in good order,
1278. attacked the pillagers, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. The ſultan, eager to have his revenge, ſent a ſtronger party, making a body of five thouſand men, into the neighbourhood of the place. The knights made a ſecond ſally; but before they advanced againſt the enemy, they left part of the garriſon near the gates of the city in ambuſh, to ſecure their retreat. They then marched ſtreight againſt the enemy, and, after a ſlight skirmiſh, retired with all the appearance of fear, as if they had been

diſmayed

diſmayed at the ſuperior numbers of the infidels. The Sarazens, full of confidence and preſumption on this occaſion, preſſed hard upon them, the knights continuing to retire before them, till they had drawn them beyond the ambuſcade; then they made head, and charged them in front, whilſt the troops that were in ambuſh came out, and, ſetting up a great ſhout, attacked the infidels in the rear; who, being ſurprized, and marching moſt of them without any order or precaution, as if it had been to a certain victory, were ſoon broken and routed, after a very faint oppoſition. The Saracens fled for their lives: vaſt numbers of them were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners, with the emir that commanded the detachment.

THE ſultan, nettled at this laſt defeat, reſolved to be revenged by the utter ruin and deſtruction of the fortreſs; but important affairs detaining him in his own territories, he could not execute his deſign till three years after, when he inveſted the place with a formidable army. The grand maſter always kept a large body of troops there. Melec-Sais tried at firſt to take the place by ſcalado. His ſoldiers advanced with ladders to the walls, and attempted to mount to the top; but they found the ſame courage and oppoſition in all places. The knights ſuffered them to mount, only that they might have the greater fall. Stones, fireworks, boiling water, every thing was made uſe of on this occaſion; and the ſultan, after loſing great numbers of his men, was forced to order the ſounding a retreat. That prince found himſelf obliged to carry on his approaches in form. He opened trenches before it, and battered the walls with engines for throwing ſtones, and ſuch other machines as were in uſe at that time; but they advanced ſlowly: the knights were continually making ſallies, and after clearing the trenches, carried terror oftentimes into the heart of the infidels camp. They burnt all his engines more than once, and would have forced the ſultan to raiſe the ſeige, had they not been ſurprized by a ſecret enemy, againſt which there was no defence.

WHILST

WHILST Melec-Sais was amuſing them, as we may ſay, with falſe attacks, his troops were at work, day and night, in digging mines, which they carried on to the walls of the place, ſo that they were ſupported only by ſome props of wood; he then ſummoned the governor and garriſon to ſurrender. They received the ſummons with railery, and asked the officer if his maſter thought himſelf obliged to make them ſuch a compliment before he raiſed the ſiege. But they were ſoon forced to change their note; the officer told them, that the fortreſs was all undermined, and offered to carry them into the mine, and ſhew them, that the ſultan had nothing to do, but to ſet fire to the props, and open himſelf a paſſage into the place. The governor thereupon ſent two knights along with the officer, who were immediately convinced of the truth of his account. There was no remedy but to treat, and give up the place; and, as ſoon as the knights were marched out, the ſultan cauſed it to be razed, to deprive them of all hopes of recovering it in a more favourable juncture.

A CERTAIN hiſtorian * tells us, that ſome German knights, that were concerned in defending this
1285. place, to preſerve the memory of it, built afterwards, in their own country a fortreſs, on the ſame plan, calling it Mergatheim, which, after the order of St. John had enjoyed it for a long time, fell at laſt into the hands of the Teutonic knights.

THE ſultan, after the taking of Margat, ſeized on the caſtle of Laodicea, and was preparing for the ſiege of Tripoli, when he was made away by one of his principal emirs, called Melec, who took poſſeſſion of his throne, by the name of Melec-Meſſor. This new Sultan, after he had ſettled his authority in Egypt, reſumed his predeceſſor's deſign of driving the Chriſtians out of Paleſtine, and laid ſiege to Tripoli, which he carried by ſtorm, and razed, as Melec-Sais had done Margat. He might have puſhed his conqueſts farther; but fearing to draw all the forces of the weſt upon

* Pantaleon l. 3. p. 85.

upon his back, by ſome new cruſade, he made a truce with Henry II. king of Cyprus, who, after the dreadful cataſtrohpe of the Sicilian veſpers, had, notwithſtanding Charles duke of Anjou king of Sicily's claim, got himſelf acknowledged and crowned king of Jeruſalem, and chaſed the French prince's lieutenant and troops out of Paleſtine [e].

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in the Holy Land; of all the places which Godfrey de Bouillon, and his ſucceſſors, had conquered, there was not one left but the city of St John d'Acre. All the Greek and Latin Chriſtians, of different nations, took refuge there; and that which ſhould have been for its ſtrength, occaſioned the weakneſs of the place, by the diviſions which roſe between the chiefs of thoſe different bodies, who all pretended to be independent on one another.

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, deeply affected with the loſs of Margat, and the diſmal proſpect of the utter ruin of Chriſtianity in the Holy Land, went into the weſt during the truce, in hopes of procuring ſome ſuccours from thoſe parts. He applied himſelf to pope Nicholas IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, and repreſented to him, in the moſt moving terms, the extremity to which the Chriſtians of Paleſtine were reduced, and the want they were in of a powerful aſſiſtance of troops and money. But all that he could obtain was about one thouſand five hundred men, moſt of them banditti and vagrants, without either courage or diſcipline. The pope excuſed himſelf from furniſhing, out of his own treaſury, the money neceſſary for their pay; ſo that all the fruit of the grand maſter's voyage was only ſome marks of an empty compaſſion, and letters of recommendation to ſome Chriſtian princes, which were not a jot more ſerviceable; beſides, the ill ſucceſs of ſo many cruſades, in which had periſhed an infinite num-

[e] Apud Acon urbem Syriæ rex Cypri fecit ſe coronari in præjudicium regis Siciliæ, in regem Jeruſalem; et quia id templarii, et fratres hoſpitales permiſerant, res eorum et bona per Apuliam et terram regni Siciliæ in manu regia capiuntur.

ber of princes, noblemen, and people of the weſt, had exceedingly cooled the zeal and ardour of the Chriſtians. The grand maſter therefore could only bring back with him ſome troops levied in haſte, which the Venetians tranſported to the eaſt on board their gallies.

This weak reinforcement arriving at Acre, ſerved only to augment the troubles and diviſions there. The grand maſter, worn out with age, but ſtill more with grief, to ſee no reſource left for the ſaving of that little ſtate, died ſoon after his return, happy in this, that he left the world before his order left Paleſtine, and was not witneſs of the loſs of the Holy Land.

THIS grand maſter, during his government, and by advice of the council of the order, made ſeveral very uſeful regulations. 'Twas he firſt preſcribed the faſhion of the ſeal of the grand maſters, and that of the treaſury or council. To him likeways is aſcribed an article in the ſtatutes, which forbids the knights to come with arms into the chapter, or into the place where the grand maſter is to be choſen: and in the eighteenth title, there is a catalogue which the grand maſter publiſhed before he died, of the faults and crimes puniſhable with degradation from the order.

JOHN DE VILLIERS. 1289.

THE chapter, upon his death, choſe for their grand maſter brother John de Villiers of the language of France. 'Twas during his maſterſhip, that ſome Chriſtian ſoldiers of the garriſon of Acre occaſioned the breaking of the truce. We have obſerved, that they were moſt of them banditti, and fellows picked up in different places, that had lifted purely out of idleneſs and libertiniſm, but wanted both courage and diſcipline; and as they received no regular pay, they went often out of the town in parties, roved over the country, and robbed both Chriſtians and infidels without diſtinction: they had lately, in breach of the truce, plundered ſome open towns of the Saracens[a].

The

[a] Mille quingenti ſtipendiarii in Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidium à papa Nicolao miſſi contra voluntatem civium, templi et hoſpitalis mili-

The ſultan ſent to demand ſatisfaction for the outrages of thoſe who commanded in the place, but there was no governor in chief there at that time: the city was filled with Cypriots, Venetians, Genoeſe, Piſans, Florentines, Engliſh, Sicilians, hoſpitallers, templars and Teutonics, all independent on one another; each nation took up a different quarter of the city, where they were cantoned without any ſubordination. The legate and the patriarch with the clergy were alſo intrenched in a particular place: all this formed a conſiderable body of inhabitants, capable enough of defending the place, had they been united.

BUT the jealouſy between ſo many different nations, and the private intereſts of their chiefs, rendered them ſuſpected and odious to one another; and inſtead of joining together for the common good, if one nation propoſed an opinion, it was enough to make another reject it. They often came to blows, fighting it out with one another; and this miſerable city contained its worſt enemies within its own walls; ſuch particularly were a great number of the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and moſt of its inhabitants, being a crew blackened with the moſt horrid crimes. Murders, aſſaſſinations and poiſonings paſſed unpuniſhed; the criminals found always a ſure aſylum in the other quarters of the city, where they had not committed their villanies. The corruption of manners was almoſt general in all conditions, not excepting even thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliged them to the ſtricteſt continency. They gloried in vice, diſguiſing it under the name of human frailty, and there wanted not men impudent enough publicly to avow that abominable ſin which gives horrour to nature; ſo that of all the people, whether Chriſtians or Mahometans, that dwelt in Paleſtine, the inhabitants of St. John d' Acre paſſed for the moſt profligate. We muſt not

1290.

 therefore

militiæ, armati de Acon exeuntes trebas cum ſoldano initas irrumpunt, et verſus caſalia et Sarracenorum oppida incurſantes, abſque miſericordia Sarracenos utriuſque ſexûs quos reperiunt [redacted] runt, qui pacificè ſub trebis initis quieſcere ſe credebant. Nangis, 1289.

therefore be aſtoniſhed if this confuſed multitude of murderers, debauchees, and banditti, refuſed to give the ſultan ſatisfaction, upon the complaints that he made, as the heads of the three military orders propoſed. The infidels, upon this refuſal, declared war againſt men that were without a head, without an army, without forces, and had no other view in taking arms, but to find impunity for their paſt crimes, and opportunities of being able to commit new ones.

THE ſultan being well informed of the diviſions that reigned in Acre, levied a mighty army to form the ſiege of the place, and drive the Latin Chriſtians entirely out of Syria, but this prince died on the
1291. road. It is ſaid, that he was poiſoned by an Emir, lieutenant general of his army, who flattered himſelf with hopes of ſucceeding him on his death. The prince had however life enough left to cauſe him to be apprehended; the villain was drawn and quartered by his orders, and the ſultan, before he expired, conjured prince Calil his ſon, not to inter his corps, till he was maſter of the city[a].

THE army, upon his death, proclaimed the young prince ſultan, by the name of Mebec Seraf. He advanced immediately towards Acre, which he inveſted on April 5th, A. D. 1291, his army is ſaid to have conſiſted of one hundred and ſixty thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe.

THE attacks were briſk and continual, and neither night nor day did the infidels allow any reſt to the beſieged. They worked by ſapping, and carried on their mines at the ſame time that they battered the walls with their engines for throwing ſtones, and all other machines of war that were then in uſe. As the ſea was open, and the Chriſtians had a greater number of veſſels in the port, moſt of the inhabitants, eſpecially of the richer ſort, embarked with their wives, children, and beſt effects. Some ſought an aſylum in the iſle of Cyprus, and the reſt took refuge in the ports of Greece and Italy. There remained only in the place about

[a] Chron. Guil. de Nangis.

about twelve thouſand regular troops, compoſed chiefly of the hoſpitallers, templars, Teutonics, and ſome ſecular ſoldiers, that fought under the banners of the three orders.

HENRY II. king of Cyprus, who all this while appropriated to himſelf the title of king of Jeruſalem, landed in the port of Acre, at the head of two hundred horſe, and five hundred foot[a]. This was but a weak reinforcement againſt the formidable power of the ſultan; and beſides that Chriſtian prince was not very much in repute for his courage. So the garriſon, which ſaw plainly they could not hold out long without a commander that was skilled in the art of war, elected by common conſent brother Peter de Beaujeau, grand maſter of the templars, a general of great experience, who had grown old in the command of armies, to be governor of the place. Neceſſity of ſtate, the trueſt interpreter of merit, made them offer the command to him, and it was done even with the conſent of the king of Cyprus himſelf, who, in a juncture of ſuch importance, and ſo full of danger, was well contented to forget the title, which he had always affected, of king of Jeruſalem.

THE ſultan tempted the grand maſter with offers of immenſe ſums, to which the templar made no anſwer, but by ſhewing a juſt indignation at the ſultan's fancying him capable of liſtening to them. By his orders they made every day ſallies, in which a vaſt number of the infidels were deſtroyed; but notwithſtanding this vigorous reſiſtance, the ſultan, who did not want ſoldiers, ſtill advanced his works; he undermined, and at laſt threw down ſeveral towers, and amongſt others that which they called the curſed tower, which was looked upon as the fortreſs of the city. The infidels advanced immediately to the ſtorm; the king of Cyprus that was poſted there, made head againſt them with his Cypriots, a great number of them fell in the action, and the infidels would have carried the place, if the night coming on had not put an end to the aſſault.

[a] Chronic. Nangis ad ann. 1290.

THE king of Cyprus, ſeeing that he ſhould have the ſame enemies, and in much greater numbers, to engage with the next day, deſired the Teutonic knights to take his poſt during the night, under pretence that his troops had need of reſt after ſo rough an attack, and promiſed that he would come in the morning at break of day to relieve them. But, upon quitting the breach, he went directly to the port, embarked on board his ſhips; and made the beſt of his way to his iſland.

THE infidels did not fail the next morning to renew the aſſault; the Mamalucks, a reſolute body of ſoldiers, mounted the breach, killed all that oppoſed them, overwhelmed the Teutonic knights with their vaſt numbers, and penetrated into the very heart of the city. They already thought it their own, when at the cries and noiſe both of the conquerors and the vanquiſhed, the marſhal of the hoſpitallers of St. John, by the grand maſter's orders, advanced at the head of a body of his knights, and charged them ſo briskly, that they gave ground; great numbers were ſlain in this forced retreat, and the hoſpitallers puſhed ſeveral of them down headlong from the top of the breach into the ditch.

THE ſultan, who did not value the loſs of a few battalions, ſent, the next day, a freſh detachment to renew the attack[a]. Never was there a more obſtinate engagement; the breach was carried and recovered ſeveral times; night alone parted the combatants. The infidels, diſcouraged at ſo brave a reſiſtance, turned all their efforts on that ſide next the gate of St. Anthony: there they found the two grand maſters, whoſe preſence alone ſeemed to make their knights invincible. The fight continued a long time, with equal warmth and fury: the Mamalucks and hoſpitallers engaged hand to hand, and ſeemed of a general battle to have made ſo many particular duels. No body appeared ſenſible of danger; every ſoldier would either conquer or die. But as the infidels were far

[a] Sanut. l. 3. p. 12.

far more numerous than the Chriſtians, there were at laſt, but few of theſe left for the defence of that poſt; and the marſhal of the hoſpitallers, a knight of great valour, falling with ſeveral wounds that he received at the ſame time, the grand maſter of the templars addreſſed himſelf to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers in theſe words: "We can hold out no longer, "ſays he, and the city is loſt if you do not fall im- "mediately upon the enemy's camp, and find means "to make a diverſion that may cool their warmth, "and allow us time to fortify the poſt we are defend- "ing."

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, taking with him ſuch of his knights as were able to mount on horſe back, parted that moment, and ſallying out of a gate on the oppoſite ſide to that of the attack, flattered himſelf with hopes of ſurpriſing the enemy's camp; but they kept too good a guard. The ſultan, during the aſſault, had made all his cavalry mount: the grand maſter, who had not five hundred horſe, was attacked immediately, and obliged to retire, and, as he entered the town again, he received the mortifying news, that the grand maſter of the templars was juſt killed with a poiſoned arrow; that moſt of his templars were cut in pieces, and that the enemy was maſter of the city, and putting all to fire and ſword.

As there was nothing elſe to be done, but, if
1291. poſſible, to ſave his troops, he turned towards the port, though all the while purſued by the infidels; and, putting a conſiderable number of croſs-bow-men into ſome barks, under ſhelter of the arrows, with which they were continually galling the ſultan's cavalry, he embarked, together with his hoſpitallers on board a carrack belonging to the order, and arrived ſafe in the iſle of Cyprus. Three hundred templars, that had eſcaped the fury of the infidels, endeavouring to gain the port, were intercepted. Theſe gallant ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, having tried in vain to break through the innumerable croud of Egytians that filled

[b] Idem Sanut. l. 3.

filled all the ſtreets, threw themſelves into the tower of the temple, reſolving to be buried in its ruins. Several women belonging to the town, as well married as unmarried, had already taken refuge there. The templars barricado'd it immediately, and held out for ſome days. The ſultan cauſed the tower to be undermined, and the templars finding it was only ſupported by props of wood, which they might ſet fire to every moment, agreed to quit it, on condition they would leave them a free paſſage to the port, facilitate their embarkation, and preſerve the honour of the women. The capitulation being ſigned, they opened the gates of the tower: but no ſooner were the firſt ſoldiers of the enemy entered, than they offered violence to the females. The templars, enraged at their brutality and breach of faith, laid hold on their ſwords, cut thoſe inſolent creatures in pieces, ſhut the gates, and, though their loſs was inevitable, yet they would never hear a word of capitulating. The infidels, with ſwords in one hand and ladders in the other, advanced to ſcale the tower. The walls were in an inſtant covered with ſoldiers, endeavouring to mount; but being undermined, as we have ſaid, the props failed, and the tower ſunk with a terrible craſh, burying the infidels as well as templars in its ruins. The women ſhut up in the tower had the ſame fate, preferring an honourable death to the danger they would have run, if they had fallen into the hands of theſe barbarians, who were ſtill more odious to them for their brutality and debauchery, than they were for their cruelty.

A WHOLE convent of nuns, of the order of St. Clare, did not come ſhort of them in reſolution. Thoſe holy virgins diſfigured themſelves after various and different manners, with more care than the women of this age take to ſet themſelves off with unnatural colours. Some cut off their noſes, others made terrible flaſhes in their cheeks, all of them had their faces beſmeared with blood; and, in this frightful condition, the infidels ſeeing no objects but what gave them hor-

ror,

ror, maſſacred them without mercy, and, by their death, put thoſe chaſte ſpouſes of the Saviour of the world out of the reach of their inſolence. Above ſixty thouſand perſons either periſhed in St. John d'Acre, or were made ſlaves to the infidels. The ſultan, to cut off all hopes from the weſtern Chriſtians of ever making another ſettlement in that city, razed it to the ground, with Tyre, Sidon, and all the cities which he had taken along the coaſt. The hoſpitallers, templars and Teutonics, that were left in ſome caſtles belonging to them, being unable to make any defence againſt ſo formidable a power, abandoned them, and embarked for Cyprus. It is ſaid, that out of five hundred templars, that behaved themſelves ſo bravely in the defence of Acre, only ten eſcaped, who, getting into a bark, landed happily on the coaſt of Cyprus. The Teutonic knights, finding ſome veſſels, and not caring to ſtay any longer in the eaſt, returned to Europe, and retired into Pruſſia and Livonia, which their order enjoyed in abſolute ſovereignty. But the hoſpitallers and the few templars that were left, in hopes of being able, by the help of ſome cruſade, to recover their footing in the Holy Land, would not quit the neighbourhood of it; and till ſome new ſuccour ſhould be brought from Europe, and the knights of their order could be got together, their deputies obtained from the king of Cyprus the town of Limiſſo for a place of retreat, where they arrived one after another, according as they could eſcape the furious purſuit of the Saracens.

'Twas a very moving ſpectacle indeed to ſee thoſe brave knights come out of their veſſels, all over wounds, with looks ſuitable to their fortune, and infinitely afflicted at having ſurvived the utter loſs of the Holy Land.

The End of the third Book, and FIRST VOLUME.

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